NRA U.S. CODE

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXXIX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 25, 1934 No. 3603

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 85
EDITORIALS:
The Republican Opposition 88
"Worse than the Earthquake" 89
Hitlerism in a New Phase 89
ISSUES AND MEN. BORAH GOES ON THE WAR PATH. By Oswald Garrison Villard 91
CARTOON: THEY SALUTE WITH BOTH HANDS NOW. By LOW 92
THE AGE OF DISTRIBUTION. By Stuart Chase 93
DOG DAYS IN WASHINGTON. By Mildred Adams 96
MONTANA CHALLENGES THE TYRANNY OF COPPER. By Ward Kinney 98
A LENINGRAD LETTER: II. By Harold J. Laski 100
ZERO HOUR ON THE COAST. By Grace Mettee 102
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 102
CORRESPONDENCE 103
FINANCE: BIG BUSINESS IN SEARCH OF NEW FRIENDS. By Peter Helmoop Noyes 104
BOOKS:
What Is a Poem? By Lincoln Reis 106
The Story of a Jingo. By Ludwig Lore 107
The New Utopia. By Walter N. Polakov 108
Preachers and War. By Oswald Garrison Villard 108
Japan Over Asia. By Mauritz A. Hallgren 109
Southern Culture. By Virginius Dabney 110
Shorter Notices 110
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 110

BOARD OF EDITORS
FREDA KIRCHWEY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
ASSOCIATE EDITORS
MARGARET MARSHALL DOROTHY VAN DOREN

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States; to Canada, $5.50; and to other foreign countries, $6.00.

THE NATION. Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second class matter December 13, 1887, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1934, by The Nation, Inc.; Oswald Garrison Villard, Publisher.
Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager. British Agent, Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London W. C. 1, England. Cable Address: Nation, New York.

IN *The Nation* for November 29, 1933, Ludwig Lore charged that George Sylvester Viereck had lately gone to Germany under contract with Carl Byoir and Associates to collect information favorable to Nazi Germany, with the purpose of disseminating this information in articles written for American consumption. Mr. Viereck thereupon wrote an indignant letter to the editors of *The Nation* categorically denying such a contract or that he was being paid by anyone to create a favorable impression of the Nazi government in this country. On July 10, 1934, Mr. Viereck, testifying before the Congressional committee investigating Nazi propaganda in the United States, admitted that he was, by contract, receiving $1,750 a month from the Byoir firm to produce publicity in this country "detailing the attractiveness of travel in Germany." He also acknowledged the receipt of $500 a month for four months beginning in March, 1933, from Dr. Otto Kiep, then German Consul General in New York City, for services "strictly advisory, concerning the general aspects of public relations," and he further testified that this $2,000 was given in cash "to avoid spies among the professional Jews and bolsheviks." Mr. Viereck declared he could see nothing improper in these transactions, and doubtless he sees nothing improper in his denial to *The Nation* of something which he was subsequently compelled to admit while inconveniently under oath. The English language contains terms which briefly and explicitly define conduct of this sort, but Mr. Viereck's reputation is well known by now and the matter is of small importance as far as *The Nation* is concerned.

OF MORE MOMENT, of course, is the disclosure of the payment, by the German dye trust, the IG-Farben-Industrie, of $25,000 a year to Ivy Lee, public relations counsel who numbers John D. Rockefeller among his clients, for general advice about the American reaction to what is happening in Germany. It is to be assumed that Mr. Lee earned this not inconsiderable stipend, not to mention the $33,000 paid his son for acting as his Berlin representative in the transaction, although one would suspect that an annual subscription to half a dozen leading American dailies and a faithful reading of their contents might reveal almost as much and it would certainly cost a lot less. These services, however, come high. Byoir and Associates, for example, are revealed to have a $6,000-a-month contract with the German Tourist Information Bureau to dispense information designed to bolster up the declining German tourist trade. Burton Holmes, well known as a lecturer, with what used to be colored slides but now are bona fide moving pictures, on foreign parts, merely accepted free passage to Germany, as did Colonel Alexander Powell, author of "The Long Roll on the Rhine." In other words, Congressman Dickstein's suspicions, along with those of many other persons, that the German government, through various German industries, has been busy and willing to pay through the nose for services which would attempt to sell Hitler's government to this country turn out to be only too justified. It may be that these activities are perfectly lawful and they may even be matched by what could be disclosed about propaganda from other countries, but it is just as well to have these matters brought out occasionally into the light of day. And it is too bad that when his government has dispensed its funds so freely, Herr Hitler, by his "purging" of the Storm Troops, should completely wipe out whatever gains had been made. Unfortunately *The Nation is not permitted to be sold in Germany*; otherwise this observation could be offered as an authentic example of American opinion of Nazi Germany, and no charge would be made for it whatsoever.

AMONG THE COUNTLESS victims whose lives are sacrificed each week by Nazi terror, there have been many whose death has left the whole world immeasurably poorer for their passing. One of these was the poet and writer Erich Mühsam who was "found dead in his cell" last week, one of the most human, most sensitive, most appealing personalities in modern German literature. Mühsam, together with hundreds of prominent literati and labor leaders, was arrested on the night of the Reichstag fire. He was handed over by the police to the S. A. vandals who dragged him to their notorious headquarters in the Friedrichstrasse, where he was terribly beaten. From there he was sent to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dachau concentration camp and later to Oranienburg where he was subjected to the never-ending martyrdom which the Nazi regime accords its unbending political foes. Prisoners released from this hell who sought refuge across the border described him as a broken man, his hearing gone, his teeth knocked out on the day of his arrest, his body emaciated with suffering, his mind dimmed by the tortures of a thousand indignities. Author of some of the most beautiful lyrics which Germany has known in the last decades, Mühsam was a courageous fighter, an anarchist who wielded a deadly pen in defense of the wronged and the downtrodden. He published two periodicals before and after the German Revolution of 1918. *Kain* (Munich 1911-1914, 1918-1919), which he wrote from cover to cover, and *Fanal* (Berlin 1924-1926) were both masterpieces of journalism. Many of Mühsam's day-by-day comments on political events will have a permanent place in the world's revolutionary literature.

TWO OF THE NINE DEFENDANTS accused of stabbing Leon Tourian, Archbishop of the Armenian Apostolic Church, in the procession of high mass last December 24 in New York City have been convicted of murder in the first degree, the remaining seven of manslaughter in the first degree. All were members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the so-called Tashnag, which played a role in Armenia opposing the Turk from 1890 on and dominated the short-lived Republic of Armenia in 1918-20. After Armenia became a member of the Soviet Union and the Tashnags were forced out, their activity declined. But the depression aroused new enthusiasm for this, as for other nationalist movements, even among Armenians in this country. A cult of the flag was instituted, not the present Armenian flag, but the flag of the brief Tashnag epoch of Armenia; youth movements, imbued with race worship, were started, glorifying, this time, not a blond Nordic race but the dark Armenian people; publications appeared full of high-flown, red-blooded positiveness. The political devil to be opposed was, of course, the Soviet rule in Armenia. Yet the Soviets had rescued what Tashnag had been incapable of holding, had furthered Armenia in economic and cultural reconstruction. Even the Armenian national church continued to exist and when Archbishop Tourian, sent to this country three years ago as prelate, approved the existing Soviet order and resisted efforts to involve the church in support of Tashnag, he became the target of Tashnag attack. Here, as in Germany, ardent nationalism led to terror. Here, too, Tashnag, like Hitlerism, has tried to win support among outsiders by calling its cause a crusade against communism. The nationalistic perpetrators of the crime have been called murderers by an American court and will be punished as such. The real criminal is nationalism.

WILLIAM GREEN has promised that he will "personally see to it" that the Donovan discharge case is brought before the National Labor Relations Board. If he is as good as his word, the new board will shortly enjoy the opportunity to prove that it takes Section 7-a in dead earnest. Mr. Green is now on record as holding that the dismissal was a clear case of discrimination. After a meeting of the Labor Advisory Board last week, he stated: "The circumstances under which Mr. Donovan was discharged, the facts connected with the case, the services he was rendering are such . . . as to leave room for only one opinion. . . . Mr. Donovan was discharged unjustly and for union activity." Does Mr. Green express the point of view of the Labor Advisory Board? This is hard to say, for at the meeting which brought forth his statement, the board for the second time refused to review the case. A majority of the board, it is said, insists on construing the term "advisory" in a literal sense, and refuses to take an active part in the dispute. If this report is true, then the Labor Advisory Board justifies the strictures of its worst critics. How can the board dare to pose as the protector of the rights of labor throughout industry if it will not help preserve the decencies of collective bargaining in its own household?

THE REFUSAL of the Republic Steel Corporation to renew its contract with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers indicates a new phase in industry's fight against the attempt of labor to gain real power under the protection of Section 7-a. The corporation frankly admits that its decision is aimed at the two factors which alone could make organized labor strong enough to cope with organized industry, namely rank-and-file control and the sympathetic strike.

> The Republic Steel Corporation [reads the announcement] has decided not to renew the signed contract due to the fact that there is great danger that the management of the Amalgamated Association may pass into the hands of the radical element known as the "rank-and-file leaders."
>
> These are the men who voted for and almost succeeded in bringing about a nation-wide steel strike on June 16. We cannot afford to have a contract with any organization which may at any time throw the men in our plants out of work due to conditions . . . existing in a plant possibly hundreds of miles away.

The announcement ends with the pious declaration of belief in collective bargaining with which the heads of industry now invariably end their most vicious attacks on that principle. The implications of this action are far-reaching and ironic. For twenty-one years the corporation has dealt with the A. A. simply because it was a weak organization whose leaders could be depended upon to be "reasonable." Now that the membership has increased so greatly that the control is passing into the hands of the workers themselves, the union stands to lose what little foothold it had in the steel industry. The Republic Steel Corporation has found a clever device, by which Section 7-a can be turned against the workers for whose benefit it was designed.

THE STRIKE in the Montana copper mines, discussed elsewhere in the present issue of *The Nation,* is a direct outcome of the copper code approved early this past spring. Few of the NRA codes have let down the workers' expectations as thoroughly as did the labor provisions of the copper code. Where the prevailing rate of pay for miners in the Northwest was something like 53 cents an hour, the code specifies 47½ cents for inside and 45 cents for outside labor. Furthermore, the maximum length of the work-week is set at 40 hours averaged over a period of three months. Eight hours a day is prescribed, but no limit on the number of days per week. This makes it possible to work one group of miners 56 hours a week for a number of weeks; then to lay them off while another group is being worked 56 hours; and yet to keep within the 40-hour limit as averaged over a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

three-months' interval. It was clear at the time the copper code was being formulated that if wages and hours were not improved a strike would ensue. Representatives of the International Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers were outspoken in their demand for terms improving the status quo. The Labor Advisory Board opposed the proposed labor provisions as finally drafted. But the copper producers were too much concerned with the fair-trade provisions—with formulating a plan for regulating production and sales, maintaining prices, and working off accumulated surpluses of stock—to pay attention to the demand that the code raise pay rates and shorten the work week. The NRA, for its part, fell in with this point of view. Significantly, Mr. King, the administrator in charge of the code, has now become managing director of the Copper Code Authority. Here is one strike, at least, that could have been averted if the NRA had remained true to its original objective.

IN DENVER, COLORADO, the other day, according to an Associated Press news story, an old man was accosted by a beggar who asked for "four bits for a bottle of moon"; the man refused on the ground that he was himself on relief, the beggar became threatening, whereupon the old man hit the beggar a blow that resulted in his death. When the defendant appeared in court, he was congratulated by Judge Charles C. Sackmann, told he had done "a good job," and given a thirty-day sentence, most of which was deemed to have been already served while he was awaiting trial. This extraordinary story, of course, cannot stand on its own merits without the background of Colorado's general economic status. Out of a population of a little more than a million, 56,000 families—probably more than 200,000 persons—were on public relief last month. Colorado is next to lowest of all the States in the Union in the amount of relief it gives to needy persons. When more than one person in five in the State is on relief, and when that relief, according to official figures, amounts to between $5 and $10 a month per family, it is easy to see that social values—even by a judge on the bench—can become a little twisted. When life, in the eyes of the State, is held so cheap, death is no more costly; and a dead beggar, after all, is one person that the State will not have to worry about feeding.

AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR of inactivity, the Department of Labor and the Department of Agriculture have finally decided to cooperate in a study of ways and means for improving the working conditions of agricultural labor. It is possible that this study may result in proposals to incorporate provisions bearing on wages and hours into the various AAA production-curtailment agreements. If there is any one group of workers in need of this kind of protection, it is the agricultural workers. Cash wages in most types of farm labor are hardly worth talking about. Hours of toil are limited only by the rising and the setting of the sun. The seasonal character of the work leads to a kind of high-pressure driving equalled only in the worst type of canneries and clothing-trade sweatshops. Furthermore, agriculture is the industry in which child labor has sharply flourished, as a cursory glance at the Census of Occupations will reveal. Truly the "forgotten men" (and women and children) of the New Deal, the farm workers, are increasingly taking matters into their own hands. The outbursts last year in the California citrus-fruit regions, and the more recent strikes of the Ohio onion workers and the Seabrook farm employees, show which way the wind is blowing. Unless the government does something to protect the agricultural workers, this wind may change into a hurricane of the same type that has been raging in San Francisco, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Toledo.

COMPANY UNIONISM on the railroads is now in its last throes. Joseph P. Eastman's interpretations of the Emergency Transportation Act of 1933 started the good work. The recent amendments to the Railway Labor Act of 1926 have finished it; for these amendments strike the company union at its most vital spot. They forbid the carriers from devoting any of their funds to initiating or maintaining any labor organization. Nevertheless, if company unionism is dying, it is dying hard. At Chicago last week, for example, there occurred a convention, called by the Allied Independent Railway Organizations, preliminary to the formation of a nation-wide organization of railway shopworkers unions independent of the A. F. of L. The Allied Independent Railway Organization came into being two years ago. It consists of some 75 former company unions of shop-crafts workers employed by some 25 different lines. Apparently it is the intent of the leaders of this movement to divide the sympathies of the shop workers by introducing dual unionism. The carriers, it is likely, are thoroughly in sympathy with this aim. Unable any longer to use their financial resources against the A. F. of L., they no doubt welcome the new organization for what it is: an attempt to shut out genuine collective bargaining. How successful the new union will be, is another question.

THE FRENZY of the film censors has grown to cyclonic proportions. A great white cloud of purity hangs over Hollywood. Cardinal Hayes and Dr. Tippy (for the Protestants) have spoken, Will Hays has answered meekly, and Mae West is revising her latest picture, while 12,000,000 over-impressionable Americans are expected to sign the pledge not to look at moving pictures that may lead them into lives of sex, crime, and nudism in luxurious penthouses far above their means. "The church," says Cardinal Hayes, "is a mother of joy," and would not curtail the pleasures of her children, but they must be wholesome pleasures and "evil motion pictures in their baneful influence undermine the moral foundations of the state." "The motion picture," says Father McCaffery, "has done the most in the last twelve years to make America immoral." These are strong words for weak pictures, judging from most of those it has been our (more or less) pleasure to see, and we cannot help being reminded of a famous remark of the now disgraced Jimmy Walker when as a State Senator he opposed a bill for the censorship of books. "No girl," said he, "was ever ruined by a book." The churches have so far failed to produce a gangster who attributed his success to the movies, and a careful inquiry among our divorced friends reveals that not one of them got the idea from a motion picture. But we should not urge these considerations upon the worthy gentlemen who are evidently panting for some vice to track down. They might be diverted to some even dearer vice which could not protect itself so well. For we have faith in the movies. We are convinced that Mae West, like love, will find a way.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Republican Opposition

THE Republicans have finally discovered an issue. At their July sixth celebration at the birthplace of their party, they decided to concentrate upon the Constitution, our endangered liberties, and "to battle for the first principles of Republican government." "Do we desire to retain our democratic form of government? Do we desire freedom from official tyranny, or to submit to the control of an all-powerful democracy? Do we desire state capitalism or our existing system of individual savings?"—these were some of the questions hurled at the Jackson, Michigan, audience by that stalwart liberal reformer, Henry P. Fletcher, the new national chairman of the Republican Party. He listed effectively some of the extraordinary powers bestowed upon the President, roundly denounced Congress for abdicating its functions and merely registering the decrees of the President, falsified lavishly the cost of the New Deal, found the Democrats guilty of abandoning the principles of Andrew Jackson, and declared that "we want more courage and less corruption in our financial, industrial, and political life." He added that "we think we can have all these things without a cowardly surrender of democratic principles." Then he made this startlingly naive announcement: "I propose in due course to set up committees of the most competent men we can find to make a study of current economic questions, so that their reports may furnish the basis of a constructive and forward-looking Republican legislative program."

The spectacle of the Republican Party, which held control of the government from 1921 to 1933, sitting down solemnly in 1934 to appoint committees to find out about our economic situation is too much for our risibles, but here, too, honest confession—of ignorance—may be good for the soul. What kind of a legislative program was that which Mr. Hoover offered to Congress during four years, since it was not "constructive and forward looking"? Similarly, we are impressed by the sudden Republican desire for "more courage and less corruption in our financial, industrial, and political life," for surely that corruption never reached such heights as during the administrations of Coolidge and Harding, while there was probably less courage in the Hoover Administration than in any other since the Civil War. As for the abdication of its functions by Congress, Mr. Fletcher was careful not to point out that the Republican members of that body were just as guilty as the Democratic. Indeed, that is the great weakness of Mr. Fletcher's and his party's sudden assumption to this new virtue. The Republicans helped to vote in the New Deal; their Congressmen and Senators have been as ready to recommend deserving Republicans by the thousands to fill those horrifying bureaucratic jobs, as they were to vote for all the grants of power which Mr. Fletcher bemoans. They no more had an alternative policy to recommend then than they have today. But Mr. Fletcher does not wish to be reckoned a hide-bound conservative; he declares that the Republicans are not "preaching the doctrine of stand-patism"; they, too, will "prevent"—*now!*—"private enterprise from running amuck," although he is certain that industry can police itself "without regimentation and state direction." Beyond all this is the fact that before the Republican challenge can become a serious one the party must have a clear-cut constructive program, and one better than Mr. Roosevelt's. No mere defense of the Constitution and of our liberties will suffice. And they must produce a candidate who can make headway against Mr. Roosevelt's charm and nation-wide popularity. There is no such candidate in sight.

Waiving this, however, we welcome the signs of an awakening opposition. Without it democratic institutions are not safe in the United States; it is a commonplace that our whole governmental system is predicated upon the clash of rival political philosophies and creeds. But it is long since we have had a genuine opposition—one that had a vitally different creed from that of those in power. We should rejoice, indeed, if we could feel sure that this Republican reunion would mean the gathering of all conservatives in one camp, and all those who favor the New Deal, or at least the bulk of the Roosevelt program, in another. Let us have a distinct cleavage, so that men may know under just whose banner they will fight if they join one or the other of the armies. We do not see why big-business Democrats, and those who see in the Roosevelt policies a modified sovietism, should not take service with Mr. Fletcher. But let them not be mealy-mouthed about it; let these conservatives say straight out, as has Colonel Roosevelt, that they want to go right back to the rugged individualism of Hoover, if that is what they really wish and desire. The parties should tell us exactly what they stand for. If the Republicans do not do it, the President will see to it that they are put in the position where they will have to take an unequivocal stand, or invite disaster.

On the other hand, if the Republicans persist in their demand for personal liberty they may compel the Democrats to do as well in their platform. It is, of course, laughable to see the Republican Party posing as a champion of human rights in view of the wholesale denial of those rights, and of justice in the courts, during their recent twelve years in power. But, on the other hand, Mr. Roosevelt himself has not spoken out against the constant infringement of individual rights, and his question to the American people in his good-bye address, as to whether they had been conscious that they had been robbed of their liberties, showed that he had no conception of what is taking place in almost every State of the Union, whenever and wherever unbridled economic forces and individual rights come to blows. Mr. Roosevelt could have countered effectively if he had only come out, as we hoped he might when Norman Thomas was arrested, with a ringing utterance denouncing this lawless treatment of one of the outstanding figures of our American life. But liberty is not what Mr. Fletcher and Senator Vandenberg had in mind. Their Goddess of Liberty is one which permits the privileged big-business men to wreak their will upon the rest of their fellow-citizens; at bottom their sudden zeal is due simply and solely to fear that the economic system which has permitted a few to batten upon the entire American people is in jeopardy. By all means let us divide on that issue; only good can come of it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Worse Than the Earthquake"

THERE has always been something dream-like and fragile about San Francisco. It is young—the very hills on which it stands are young in geologic time—and it has all the characteristics of youth. It is beautiful, romantic, generous, sentimental, and intermittently brutal.

Even more than other American Megalopoli, San Francisco has long known that its existence hung by frail threads of rail, highway, and water transport. Courageously, magnificently, it has been building bridges—across the Golden Gate to the Marin County mainland, across the bay to Oakland. Today, with the bridges half built, those frail threads have been cut.

San Francisco has known terror before, when her sunny complacence turned to nightmare in the sudden cataclysm of the earthquake and fire. But this new terror which has gripped the city by the Golden Gate is different. It is so quiet—San Francisco, they say, is like one of the "ghost towns" of the Mother Lode. After a sharp, brief spasm of rioting, the general strike is on and nothing moves. The frivolous little cable cars, small as roller coasters, no longer clang up and down Russian hill. Across the deserted Bayshore Highway a lonely cowboy ambles on his horse. And eighty-nine deep-water ships rock at anchor in the stricken harbor where only the ferryboats still shuttle from shore to shore.

In this zero hour before what may well become a bloody conflict, there rises a babel of voices: Mayor Rossi denouncing the fomenters of the strike and proclaiming a "state of emergency" (the full force of the California National Guard is already on duty in the city); Archbishop Hanna pleading, "Let reason rule"; President Roosevelt's National Mediation Board protesting that the grievances of the seamen should not be injected into the settlement of the longshoremen's strike; shrill voices of San Francisco housewives clamoring in the markets for what is left of the diminishing stock of foodstuffs; voices out of radio loud-speakers announcing that the Seafarers' Council of the Port of New York is threatening to strike and that Portland, Oregon, expecting the general strike to spread to that city, is rationing the available supply of gasoline; voices of editors saying, "Keep your head, San Francisco," and pointing out that in the past big general strikes have been broken by the "public." Indeed, before this is printed, the public—that is to say, the National Guard—may have broken the strike, though scarcely without violence.

One doubts that either violence, or mediation, or both, will settle the issues. The longshoremen insist, and rightly, that they must control the hiring halls; in the lack of such control the employers' "Blue Book," a register of the timid and the cowed, has imposed company unionism in its most virulent form upon the San Francisco waterfront, demoralized as it is by the depression-spawned surplus of casual labor. As the strikers put it, "You can't arbitrate a shoe or a hairpin or any other article, so how can you arbitrate a hiring hall?" The longshoremen and the seamen are right, again, in rejecting the employers' demand that the seamen's strike be settled separately, since this would split labor's two most militant forces and facilitate the defeat of both. The seamen are demanding that the employer-controlled Marine Service Bureaus be abolished and that all hiring be done through the offices of the United States Shipping Commissions. Unless this demand is won, the newly formed union faces the same sort of discrimination that the "Blue Book" made possible with respect to the longshoremen. With the depression, seamen's wages dropped from $50 and $75 to $33 and $50, and the twelve-hour day was established by about half the lines. Since the strike, Dollar and Matson line passenger ships have been filling vacancies with college boys at $23 a month.

With the general strike, of course, the issue has become both wider and simpler. It is, will San Francisco be a closed-shop city or not? San Francisco industrialists have for years envied the success of their Los Angeles colleagues in making the city of the angels a notorious open-shop, labor-sweating town. Unquestionably many of the West Coast industrialists have wanted this show-down. But when it came it proved too big for them to handle. Already the financial loss is almost beyond computation. Citizens forced to stand in line at the score of restaurants "accredited" by the General Strike Committee are muttering that this is "worse than the earthquake."

The whole question, of course, is more than merely that of the open versus the closed shop. It involves the larger issue of the general strike as a weapon, and already even liberal newspapers are beginning to say that labor has "no right" to inflict the hardships entailed upon any community. But if labor has no such right, then the employers are in exactly the same position and are neither more nor less responsible for whatever hardships may ensue. The real question is one of expediency and tactics. The general strike is an act of desperation and last resort, and it has not in the past proved markedly successful. It is obviously the duty of any government to preserve order and to suppress rioting. But we, at least, do not doubt labor's "right" to employ the general strike as a weapon.

Hitlerism in a New Phase

WITH an orgy of blood Hitler and his associates put an end to national socialism in the Reich. The coup of June 30 was the outcome of contradictions inherent in its regime. Hitler, Goering, and Göbbels were pressed by powerful capitalist interests while the old reactionaries—the Junkers, militarists, and influential bureaucracy of the Hohenzollern era—on the one hand and Hitler's own S.A. followers on the other attacked his policies and sought to undermine his personal supremacy. Hitler's coup de force occurred at the zenith of this crisis. The incredible tempo with which Germany had been driven in the direction of the totalitarian state, accomplishing in a year what Mussolini achieved in four, and the rashness with which it imposed its will on every phase of social and industrial life were not without reason. Despite its spiritless capitulation, the German working class represented a much greater potential force than that of Italy. This Hitler knew and he planned to demolish this incipient foe before it could strike.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mussolini's conquest of the Italian people coincided with the beginning of a period of economic ascension. Germany, on the contrary, is suffering from the disintegrating effects of an ever-widening crisis which derides every attempt to restore normal conditions with artificial means. It gave Hitler no time to experiment, to feel his way. Under more favorable circumstances he might have concealed behind occasional concessions to the masses his subservience to the heavy industrialists who have financed and built up his movement. But the necessity of sustaining a tremendous army of unemployed out of the nation's coffers and Germany's losing fight against a world-wide boycott created a situation that had to be met at once with accepted capitalist methods: longer hours, lower wages, and greater oppression of the working class. This line of attack, manifestly at variance with his pseudo-socialist program of the past, at first brought no open resistance on the part of the masses, who accepted it as a necessary intermediate step in the direction of fascist socialization. But as time went by and Hitler's bondage to the financial and industrial overlords of the nation became increasingly apparent, dissatisfaction grew among the workers, the tradesmen, and the farming population. This popular dissatisfaction became menacing when it invaded the Storm divisions, heretofore the support of the fascist regime.

For some time Hitler had planned to abolish this army of more than a million men and to create a smaller but absolutely reliable party army. A month's vacation for the Storm Troopers—a vacation strictly without uniforms and arms, to begin on July 1—was to have been the first step in that direction. But again events forced the Chancellor to accelerate what he had probably planned to do with greater circumspection. Von Papen's provocative speech, the consequent hostilities between the Storm Troops and the Steel Helmets, the refusal of the S.A. leaders to accept dictation, and Krupp von Bohlen's threatened resignation as head of the heavy industries, forced him to take this drastic step sooner than he had probably intended.

In the realm of foreign affairs matters were no less precarious. Germany was isolated, politically and commercially. It had suffered a number of significant defeats: in the matter of the Polish corridor and, more recently, in the official withdrawal, under pressure from Italy, of its claim to Austria. Nor is the outlook more favorable for the future. The possible loss of the Saar region through the opposition of the Centrist Party, the impossibility of continuing its armament program in its entirety and the consequent hopelessness of its plan to solve Germany's problems at the point of the sword, the collapse of the mark at home and the consequent rise in prices of staples and important food products, the prostration of its job-producing scheme, and, last but most important, its failure to obtain credits abroad—all these brought Germany to the brink of catastrophe and created a situation which made it easy for the forces of reaction to take the reins once more and make Hitler subservient to their bidding.

The Chancellor was willing to fulfill the demands the heavy industries made upon him. He was not willing to relinquish political power. In this dilemma there was only one course which he could take: to strike out against both fronts at once in the hope that his influence in the Reichswehr was already sufficiently strong to insure its support. Here, by the way, we may find the answer to the mystery surrounding Schleicher's death. The former Chancellor had not resigned himself to private life. He looked forward to a future in which he with the help of his Reichswehr colleagues would again stand at the head of the German government. This Hitler knew. War Minister von Blomberg, who had always sympathized strongly with the National Socialist movement, stood behind the present Chancellor. If his influence was to predominate over that of Schleicher and his supporters, the latter must be removed.

As matters stand at present Germany's industrialists and financiers will be glad to avail themselves of the "Leader's" personal popularity. Hitler's position with the masses is still strong. In the Reichstag he declared: "The policies of the Reich will remain as they were. There will be no changes." But no mention was made of the fact that Minister of Economics Schmitt, representative par excellence of the great industrialists, has been made industrial dictator with unrestricted power over commercial and industrial affairs.

The immediate war danger, of which the Reich has been the focal point for more than a year, seems to have been banned for some time to come. The Powers, probably in conjunction with Germany and Soviet Russia, will come to some workable arrangement regarding Balkan spheres of interest and will establish temporary "order" on the Continent. As the understanding just arrived at between Great Britain's leading statesmen and Louis Barthou has already proved, a German government dominated wholly by capitalist interests may count on concessions in the shape of credits and rearmament. Anti-Semitism will not be liquidated, but a more conciliatory attitude will be shown toward influential sections of the Jewish population. There will be a check on the flagrant "outrages" which constituted an important part of the Storm Trooper's recreational activity and which were so largely responsible for the resentment of the outside world.

For Germany's recovery program under this new direction the working masses and the small bourgeoisie will have to pay. Prices are rising, must rise if the government would retain the support of the farming population, already much incensed over the recent application of a coercive grain-collection system. Wages, on the other hand, already much reduced, will fall to still lower levels. The program of lower wages and longer hours which the government has not dared to inaugurate, will now be put into effect. Social insurance will all but disappear. Hitler's fantastic job-producing program, which forced harassed factory and farm owners to over-staff their plants and acres with inefficient and unskilled S.A. men at dole wages, will be the first to go by the board. The S.A. man who was a person to be feared and conciliated in the past, once more becomes a jobless proletarian. Despite the suffering and terror that Hitler's metamorphosis will bring to the German people, it will mean a large step forward for the working class. The feeling that it is grappling with an invincible foe is gone; it knows from experience that it can stand firm against the industrialists.

That German labor does not rise in revolt today is not due to its failure to realize the altered situation. At present it is without revolutionary leadership. But illegal activity will increase and will find the masses more receptive and other elements more tolerant of its propaganda. The reorganization of Germany's working class is about to begin. May it find leaders big enough to bear the responsibility for its future.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

Borah Goes on the War Path

WILLIAM E. BORAH is a law, if not a party, unto himself. The mystery of him never fails to stir the wonder of all who observe him at close range. Here is a man of extraordinary ability who in some respects towers above everyone else in the Senate. When he rises to speak, Senators rush to their seats precisely as they hurry to leave them when Senator Copeland gets on his feet. His speeches are excellent reading, solid, with form and vigor, and as a lawyer he has few equals in Washington. Yet the fact is that he does not begin to exercise the influence that he should. Conservatives dislike and distrust him. Liberals and reformers admire him and mourn that he will not take the role of a national leader which he could have essayed at any time during the last twenty years. Had he done so the whole history of the United States would have been different. He could have galvanized into life all the Progressive forces of 1912, so shamefully betrayed by Theodore Roosevelt after he had called them into being. He could have led the liberal forces throughout the country to confront the black reaction of Harding and Coolidge, and he could have made the nomination of Herbert Hoover impossible.

Indeed, I believe he could have compelled his own nomination. Sometimes I wonder if he could not still do it. The opportunity is not only in his own ability, but in the amazing dearth of first-rate candidates in the Republican Party. I have already pointed out how extraordinary it is that we are half way to the next Presidential nominations and that there are no Republican candidates in sight. I know, of course, that big business has its eye on ex-Senator Jimmy Wadsworth of New York and is carefully saying nothing about him publicly so that no movement will be started to head him off. But the Jimmys and Teddys are not big enough for a substantial opposition to Mr. Roosevelt. Borah has the strength and power, the logical and analytical mind, and despite his having passed his sixty-ninth birthday and having had to undergo a serious operation, he is still in fine health. Indeed, he has always taken the best care of that large body of his. He has led a most regular life. I once wrote that "his daily horseback ride in Rock Creek Park is as much an institution in the Capital as the Washington Monument itself." He has declined to yield to social lures and he has accomplished the prodigious amount of work that he has achieved by devoting every possible moment to study. He now threatens once more to cut loose and has left Washington for his home State with the announcement that he will speak during the summer on various occasions to combat the bureaucratic regime of Roosevelt, the suspension of the anti-trust laws, the rise of monopoly, and our "departure from the principles of the Constitution," which he says will be as "disappointing and disastrous to the interests of the American people" as was our going into the war to make the world safe for democracy in which, as he now admits, "We did not succeed." He will also attack the Republicans for some of their sins.

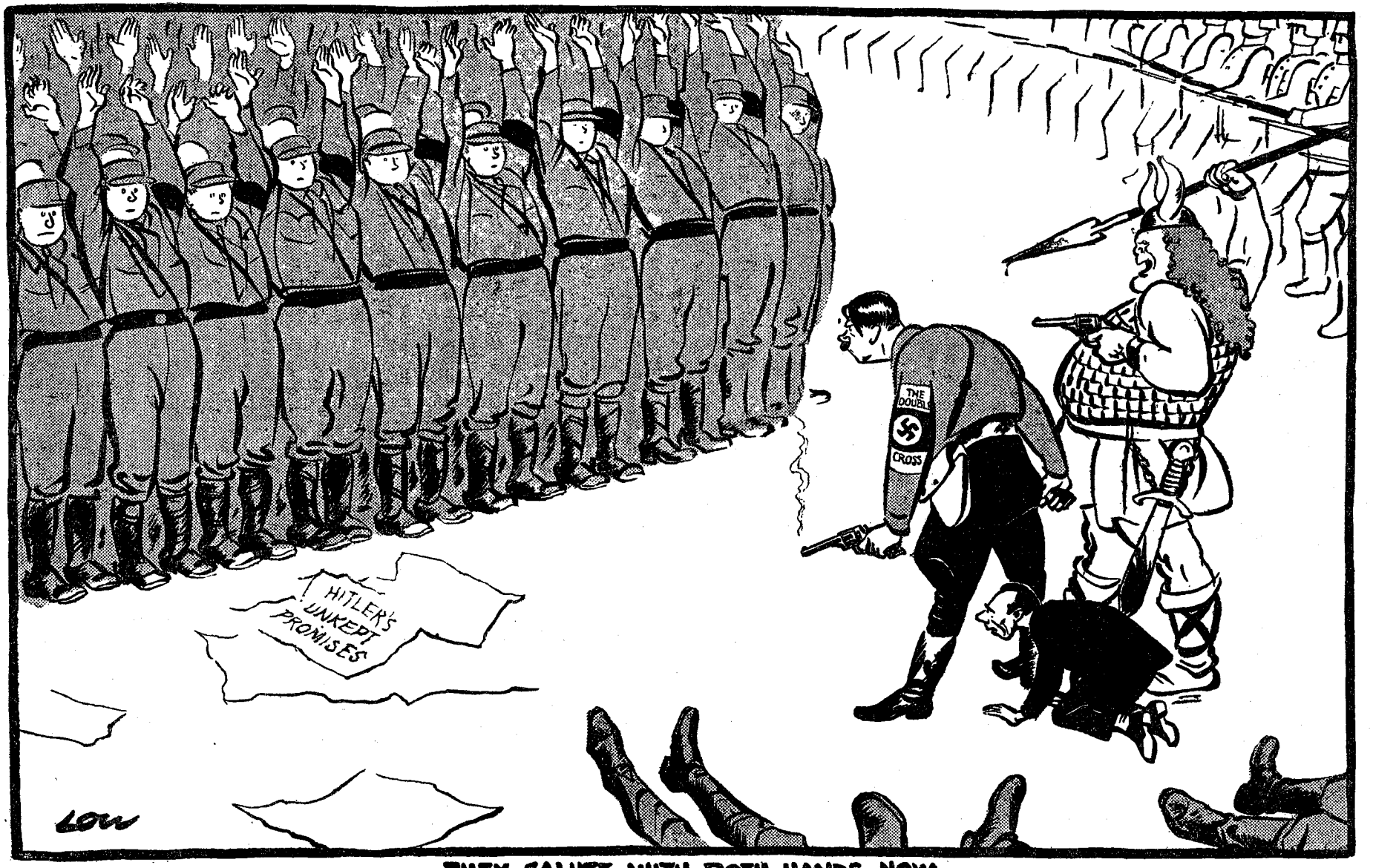
It will be a grand thing to have a man like this in opposition all summer, and he will find plenty to talk about in the dangers of the emergency powers granted to the President. But the old sickening doubt as to whether he will go through with his program returns to plague us. There is some constitutional inhibition in the man that seems to prevent his persisting in the campaigns that he undertakes. I do not believe, as do many, that it is a question of the front page, and that he loses interest when the subject which he is discussing finds its way into the back pages of the dailies. But there lies the mystery of it. Certainly it will be possible, if he does not grasp this opportunity to put himself at the head of the opposition, to write on his tombstone that here was a man who could have been the President of the United States, but who would not—and there are few who deserve this epitaph. After the next campaign he will be too old to be considered for the office. Of course, I do not know whether the arch reactionary, Henry Fletcher, would care to have him head the party; probably not. But if he should for once in his life cast all reserve to the winds and go into the Republican primaries with a clear-cut, constructive program, he could give the Republican high command some extremely interesting hours, and perhaps make people feel that William E. Borah for once had lived up to his ability and made the most of the talents that nature has bestowed upon him.

It is considerable of a jump from Idaho to Mississippi, but I must not forbear to call attention to the three-cornered fight for the Senatorship in that Southern State. What distinguishes it is that Congressman Ross A. Collins has abandoned a sure seat in the House after years of service to contest for the Senatorship. His letter telling me of his decision aroused mixed feelings, for there has been no more useful man in the House of Representatives than Mr. Collins. Indeed, there is no man in that body who so thoroughly knows the army situation. His years of service on the Appropriations Committee he utilized to make himself a greater authority on military expenditures, I have heard it said, than any man in the War Department. He has often tripped up not only the heads of the War Department themselves, and the chiefs of staff, but division heads of the department who have appeared before the sub-committee of which he is chairman with such incessant demands for more money as to make the horse-leech's daughters appear models of self-abnegation. There is no one in the House to take his place in this respect. He is the only Congressman who has persistently fought the army and navy lobby, who has seemed to realize to the fullest degree the alarming growth of the military power in Washington. I hope with all my heart that he will be elected. We need a man like him in the Senate, but we need a dozen like him in the House. According to the reports the choice lies between Mr. Collins and ex-Governor Bilbo.

Oswald Garrison Villard

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Cartoon by LOW



THEY SALUTE WITH BOTH HANDS NOW.

Copyright by the Inter-Europa Press. Reproduction in the United States forbidden.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Age of Distribution

By STUART CHASE

MY "Economy of Abundance," to which Mr. John Strachey took such gentlemanly but profound exception in *The Nation* for May 9, discussed new social conceptions made necessary by new physical and technological conditions. In the argument, orthodox socialism and communism, as well as capitalism, individualism, and various other *isms,* were brought under critical review. Where the facts seemed to lead, I tried to follow, irrespective of what hallowed cathedrals of doctrine were damaged.

The new physical conditions and facts are reasonably apparent and have repeatedly been called to our attention. There is no need to go into them at length here. They include: A compounding curve of invention; a vast per-capita increase in the consumption of inanimate energy; an industrial and agricultural plant far in excess of pecuniary market demand; a steady increase in output per man hour, resulting in a surplus of labor and technological unemployment; specialization of economic activity to the point where it now constitutes one interdependent net work; population growing at a decrement; autarchy and the resulting decline of foreign trade.

With these facts firmly in mind, let us approach the concept "capitalism." What is it? I should define it as the private ownership of the means of production, and, by virtue of such ownership, a flow of free income in the form of profits, interest, rents, and royalties. After deducting living expenses, including certain outlays for conspicuous consumption, the pleasure and the duty of the capitalists has been to invest the balance in more means of production, the income from which, after deductions, is further reinvested, ad infinitum.

This stupendous rhythm of compounding indebtedness has not only been pleasurable to capitalists, but it has come to provide the balance wheel of the whole system. The prompt investment of the free income has provided wages and salaries for workers in durable-goods industries, with which income these workers have cleared the shelves of the consumers' goods produced in the same period. Equilibrium came to depend on compounding reinvestment in a compounding durable-goods sector, which distributed compounding purchasing power, with which a compounding volume of consumers' goods was cleared at a profit—which was once more reinvested. Accounting, insurance, actuarial, and banking practice are all predicated on this rhythm. Capitalism by its name connotes the investment and safe-guarding of capital, or the profitable accumulation of the means of production. It is a method harsh but pragmatic for building up a productive plant; for "developing" a given economic area. It belongs to an age where the problems of production are paramount.

But what of the time when the area should be at last "developed"; when the means of production should no longer be at a premium as a vehicle for profitable investment; when the exquisite mathematics of the compounding process should run clear off the map of physical realities? Capitalists have been too busy ever to answer these questions. Even today, with the compounding process seriously crippled, most capitalists prefer a mystic nostalgia for 1928 to any frank facing of their own formula.

Yet for all practical purposes, the problem of production is solved. The plant has lost its scarcity status, as witnessed by surpluses and excess capacity, a condition which was becoming ominous long before the depression. Further increases in the means of production are discouraged, owing to the poor prospects of realizable profits. Regard the sorry state of the durable-goods industries today, and the huge surplus of idle capital in the banks. But without an increase—duly compounded—in the means of production, durable-goods workers remain on the streets, their purchasing power all but gone. This so depresses the total volume of purchasing power that profits and free income are, for the system as a whole, inadequate to validate the values set on the present means of production. According to R. R. Doane, capital assets valued at $441,000,000,000 for the whole nation in 1929 dropped to $256,000,000,000 in 1932. The decline of nearly two hundred billion registers an appalling shrinkage in the ability to validate.

With no sufficient means under the canons of "sound money" to extend markets and purchasing power, the system comes to a halt, the majestic rhythm stops. Presently it goes below the line into disintegration—as we have observed it for the past five years, both here and abroad. Capitalism cannot stand still without disaster. It must move forward to keep in equilibrium—like the Red Queen.

The simple conclusion seems to be that capitalism has fulfilled its function, the plant has been built to the limit of the sound-money framework, and the flow of free income is seriously jeopardized. Whether that body of enterprising individuals constituting the "control" (see Berle and Means) of this disintegrating system are also departing, is another question. Some, like Kreuger, Insull, Wiggin, and Mitchell, have gone; others may or may not follow. We shall return to them presently.

Consciously or unconsciously, economic thinking and economic action are now oriented towards distribution. The consumer is creeping to the center of the stage. Ways and means to furnish him with purchasing power form the outstanding problem of current statesmanship. Doles, subsidies, civil works, public works, controlled prices, pegged minimum wages are all aimed pragmatically, if without much theoretical blessing, at mass distribution, a distribution which bypasses the rigid formula of capitalism. The fact of the bypassing is amply evidenced by the piteous wails issuing from the sound-money camp.

Aids to distribution have taken two general forms—the artificial stimulation of purchasing power through government spending; the rationing of surplus products—like wheat, meat, potatoes—direct to the needy consumer. All Western nations are threatening their budget balances with one or the other of these devices. We use both in the United States, and the general opinion seems to be that we must use them far more freely. John Maynard Keynes recently advised the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President that four hundred million, rather than the present one hundred million a month, was essential if the economic machine was to continue to operate.

These doles, driblets of relief, and feeble "make-work" projects can hardly be dignified with the title of "a distributive age." But they clearly mark the beginning of such an age, as Watt's wheezy old steam engine marked the beginning of the age of quantity production. If private business cannot distribute the surplus, the community must. The community is proceeding to do so, with comparatively little regard for budget balancing. Consumers must eat. There can be, I believe, no permanent retreat from this beginning. The tide of distribution must mount, at the cost of any and every "sound-money" barrier.

At some dated point, which I believe has been reached, capitalism as the dominant institution gives way to consumerism, or distributism, or whatever you please to call it. Capitalists will continue for a time legally to own many of the means of production, but not to reap unearned income therefrom in anything like the amounts hitherto obtaining for the system as a whole. The United States Steel Corporation, the central pillar of American capitalism and of the age of production, has been in the red for several years to the extent of scores of millions of dollars. Without sufficient customers, the magnificent plants are a liability, and an expensive one. Technological abundance is breaking the stranglehold of private ownership on the means of production; not in every industry to be sure, but in enough industries to warrant the generalization. The proof is found in the figures of excess capacity. So the product must be shared with the masses, who alone are numerous enough to consume it, whatever the status of legal ownership. A vested right in the means of production is profitable only when pecuniary demand outruns supply. When the technical arts create a supply in excess of pecuniary demand, the financial value of vested rights approaches zero.

In short, in a distributive age, it is not of cardinal importance who owns what, except as a matter of administrative efficiency. The important thing is that mass consumption balance mass production. Costs in terms of man hours are now very low, and going lower with every technical improvement.

Capitalism as we have known it is being liquidated under technological pressure. To deny this is to deny the facts of the modern world. It by no means follows that capitalists of the "control" group are due for similar liquidation. It is probable that they will move heaven and earth to control the new economy as they once controlled capitalism. They are forceful fellows with sublime egos. It will be a very different plate of beans, however, and may confuse them considerably. Their cherished stock market will no longer be central in the picture, and it was about the stock market that their control technique largely revolved.

As a matter of fact, the "control" in recent years has not owned the properties which it has manipulated. The wayfaring investor has held the bag. This cleavage between finance capital and the general investor is indicative of the declining importance of ownership. Even if workers owned their factories, they would be as helpless without a market as their sometime bosses. You cannot eat crankshafts, or clothe yourself in spark plugs. Ownership is a static, legal concept. The power age is a dynamic physical reality; its goods must be moved regardless of ownership, or it ceases to function. Mr. Strachey does not deny the decline of capitalism, rather he first admits and then denies it, for a reason which I think I can explain. He pictures it deciding to accept a lower and lower rate of profit, down to one-fourth of 1 per cent, which he thinks will mean an equal or greater aggregate return. But this depends on increasing markets, and how markets are to increase when mass purchasing power is declining—when in fact markets themselves are statistically declining—he does not say. Nor does he allow for any divergence of opinion, or of will, or even of funds, among capitalists. As an orthodox communist he sees all capitalists representing one mind, one heart, one pool for investment, on which one governing intelligence sets the rate. This is carrying class-consciousness to lengths which the facts deny.

I do not pretend in this brief exposition to enter the vast and vaulted grottoes of Marxian criticism. Marx was a great man. His economic vision was profound, perhaps to the point of foreseeing the collapse of capitalism at the hands of a surplus economy. His sociology was less profound, and his tactics, I believe, stand in need of extensive revision. The analysis of socialism in this article does not pretend to account for all that Marx did or did not say. It follows a simpler pattern—the popular conception of socialism as evidenced by the linguistic behavior of most of its adherents.

Let us look more closely at the popular concept of "socialism." Its cardinal plank is also ownership—the social ownership of the means of production. It is thus a kind of anti-capitalism, developed in opposition to capitalism, in the age of scarcity when the problem of production was dominant. It proposed to wrench the monopoly of ownership in the scarce means of production away from private parties and vest it in the state. Most socialists appear to assume that the volume of goods is limited, and that the division should be more just. But under 1934 technological conditions, the potential volume of goods is all but unlimited.

What happens to anti-capitalism when capitalism degenerates; when a distributive economy undermines the strategic importance of the private ownership of the means of production? Socialism loses some of its own importance. That is why John Strachey denied the evidence in my book. He leapt to defend the continued existence of a bold, bad capitalism; for if it weakens, his doctrine weakens. The two are inextricably interlocked. Mr. Strachey drew a somber picture of the capitalist class all but welcoming the depression as an opportunity to weed out the small fry and consolidate its position. Assuming that this has happened (in some cases monopolies have been strengthened, in others, like Mid West Utilities, broken), what good is consolidation without an adequate volume of sales? The national income has been cut in half. Mr. Strachey, and communists generally, have a producer tropism; they look at plant and its ownership. I have been driven to look first at the distribution mechanism as something which has come to overshadow and control the other. They would have workers seize the factories. I would have workers, and consumers generally, control the distributive machinery and organize that flow of purchasing power and goods which governments, under the pressure of circumstances, are already feebly steering in their direction.

The moral sanction of factory seizure was given by the doctrine that labor creates all wealth. This was roughly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

true in 1850. Today the mental labor of technicians harnesses inanimate energy to create far more wealth in total tonnage than is created by manual labor. The traditional toiler is passing from the productive picture at an alarming rate. Already in this country an adequate flow of physical goods could be produced by not more than one-fifth of the working population. Yet everybody must eat. A surplus economy is undermining rigid conceptions of the class struggle. The conflict is no longer primarily between producers and owners of the means of production; the ground has shifted to a point where mass consumption is sovereign to both, technologically as well as ethically. Class struggles we may have, but the lines must be reformed.

Socialism, narrowly interpreted, loses much of its drive and significance in a distributive age. In its broader aspects, namely distributive justice and community well being, it is of course greatly advanced, for mass distribution is a long step towards social justice. But the ancient strategies, the ancient objectives, the ancient hates, become less valid. This is depressing, if not infuriating, to those who have devoted their lives to capturing scarcity-age citadels. Capitalism has become a dear and necessary enemy. I call on any competent psychologist to check me on these observations.

Meanwhile nobody had a rounded philosophy which did fit the modern facts, and about which a realistic movement for the regeneration of society could rally. No prophet arose to develop a doctrine for the distribution age. The gross, mountainous facts moved, but interpretation was lacking. The vast public interest in technocracy was in response, I believe, to a flash interpretation which seemed to fit the facts. It captured more imaginations in a few months than socialists had done in a generation of hard, devoted work.

Technocracy indicated that there was plenty of goods and promised mass distribution. The effect was electric. Here was something which lived and moved. Plain citizens find it difficult to become excited about taking legal title to steel mills, coal mines, and railroads, and civil servants find it even more difficult. Why burden one's self with colossal administrative burdens, if ownership is not a cardinal consideration? Why regulate everything, if goods must flow in any event? The important matter is the goods.

If private parties refuse to move the goods, of course the community, through the state, or through consumers' associations, or through guilds of technicians, must see that they are moved. (I understand that it was suggested in Washington that, in the event of a complete breakdown of industry, army officers should be thrown in to administer the plants.) That this will sooner or later entail nationalization of many of the means of production, I do not doubt. Technological considerations already point to public ownership of banks, railroads, and the energy industries—coal, oil, and electric power—in the near future. The basic question to answer is what method promises to move the goods and disseminate the physical surplus with the least social disruption. A dogmatic insistence that nothing can be accomplished until the profit system is officially abolished and the state is captured by the proletariat loses point in a surplus economy. If the claims of capitalists were being handsomely validated, the dogma would have point; the capitalists must be cleared away. As we have seen, the claims are not being validated for the system as a whole, and the capitalists are clearing themselves away—to the extent of a two hundred-billion-dollar shrinkage in the past four years. And the end is not yet. Mr. Strachey says the capitalists will not permit themselves to be expropriated. It is not a question, as I see it, of permission; it is a question of maintaining expanding markets. If capitalists can expand markets, their holdings will be validated; if they cannot, expropriation takes place by default. Mr. Morgan is as helpless as King Canute.

For a long time I have been searching for a social philosophy which would fit the modern facts. Thorstein Veblen started me on this quest. I have tried to hold to the facts no matter whose toes were stepped on. I have not been able to find any hope in an enlightened or reformed capitalism. This is not because all capitalists are low fellows, but because of the inflexibility of their compounding formula. A production system cannot fit a distribution age. I have been unable to find a realistic solution in the class-struggle tactics of socialism or communism, as popularly interpreted, because they too are production-age systems. Technocracy was an analysis with which in large part I agreed, but which carried no practical program of action. I have been unable to find any satisfying general solution in simple shotgun remedies like the Douglas plan, although it faces squarely the problem of distribution.

This has thrown me back on the experimental method. Experimentation is a somewhat lonely business, lacking, as it does, the warm arms of faith and doctrine. Given the modern trend, however, what else can a fact follower do? There is no body of doctrine competent to deal with this trend.

"The Economy of Abundance" was an attempt objectively to describe the forces at work. To act intelligently, one must first understand. Few people seem to sense the extent of the pressures which applied science has let loose; even fewer the concept of the technological imperative. The latter pointed a path; if my description was adequate, a line of action was indicated. Certain planks in a program could even be laid down. But I built no complete program because I did not know enough. When a sufficiently large group succeeds in digesting the characteristics, trends, and imperatives of a surplus economy, a real program will be forthcoming, and not before. It was to the understanding of that group that my book was addressed. Spade work if you please, but without spade work you have no house, or at best a rickety one.

The formulation of a clean-cut philosophy and a social program for the age of distribution is coming. It will contain many elements broadly called socialistic. It may win the allegiance of many socialists, now vaguely disturbed with their own lack of progress. It will be strongly collectivist; it will nationalize certain key industries; it will work out a method of non-interest-bearing public credit, it will largely displace the profit motive—not for ethical reasons but to move the goods. A vast extension in the public-works sector appears to be inevitable. The general objective will be the distribution of the surplus, rather than a wrangling over the ownership of a productive plant which has lost its scarcity position.

What devils the new philosophy may have to face I do not know—fascism is obviously one—but the head devil will not be traditional capitalism. I am sorry that I had to speak disrespectfully of Mr. Strachey's devil—he was a grand devil until very recently—but the facts seem to show that he has now compounded himself into a quite dreadful impasse.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dog Days in Washington

By MILDRED ADAMS

Washington, July 10

WHATEVER may be the condition of the rest of the country, there can be little doubt that Washington is almost its old self again. The President is on vacation. Congress has gone home. General Johnson has gone to the country. The beat of life sounds less like a riveter and more like a bumble bee. The pace of the streets is that of the South in the hot sun. Nothing disturbs the summer somnolence but the struggle of a late-born board to get itself desks and telephones.

This drowsy torpor is not solely the effect of the summer sun. Collars wilted and foreheads dripped last year as now, but men were galvanized by an idea, or a whole set of ideas, into an activity that made them oblivious of temperature. Now the force of novelty, the drive of emergency, are dying away. Idealism is out of breath.

It has taken fifteen months for the tremendous stimulant that was the New Deal to wear off, and the ancient forces of red tape, politics, climate, fatigue, and plain human inertia to reassert themselves. Fifteen months of energy and improvization, of work so hard and so continuous that flesh and blood performed miracles in its accomplishment. Fifteen months of erecting a new super-government above the paralyzed form of the old. Fifteen months of establishing federal control over the banker, the farmer, the home owner, the stock broker, the miner, the industrialist, the retailer, the manufacturer, the mortgagor and the mortgagee, the social worker and the unemployed. Fifteen months of swift, hard effort of the kind that delights the American to the bottom of his bones. Work so steady that there is no time for doubt, hours so long that all stimulants lose their power to keep a man awake. One may fall asleep in a board meeting from sheer exhaustion, but there is no room for worrying about ultimate ends.

And now that the framework of the new governmental edifice is up? Now that the New Deal has entered on its "administrative phase"? It is summer, hot, muggy, hard on all kinds of starch. The NRA holds a picnic down the river to celebrate its first birthday, and so few of the faithful attend that the special boat is only half filled. The PWA has a day off as its birthday present, but not before Secretary Ickes has lectured it for eating breakfast on office time (they get to work at eight) and rushing off to play the moment the clock strikes half-past three. The miracles are a little limp, and many of the young have temporarily given up remaking the world in favor of picnicking along the Potomac.

Three of the agencies that were most active last year look distinctly dog-eared. The National Labor Board that was to revolutionize relations between workers and employers has broken under the strain and been junked. The Consumers' Advisory Board, that was going to unearth, organize, and protect the consumer from the predatory self-interest of the industrialist and the worker, sits in its offices and counts its meager winnings over and over again, while its executive secretary packs his trunk to go and be a college president in Oregon. Even the NRA, which won most of its battles with the other two, looks groggy. The old rushes are staged at intervals, the old bellows emerge, but the general effect is of being what prizefight reporters call "punch drunk."

Meanwhile what interest there is has shifted to the newer agencies of control created by the last Congress. Housing, the securities and stock-exchange board, farm mortgages, the new labor board. There the lights burn into the night, there lunches are snatched from trays on desks, there board members fight over ways and means, and discover that they are also setting up first principles.

Even now the stimulus is not all gone. The level of intelligence and interest has not yet sunk to where it was in, say, the Coolidge era. Conversation still sparkles if you know where to look for it, and cooperation is not all construed as always meaning "yes." The night has not yet come when the only government building showing lights is the one that prints the stamps and the paper bills. But the signs all point to a reestablishment of that discouraging spectacle called normal political life.

It may be, as some people say, that this is merely a breathing spell, that the country needs a vacation from the constant Roosevelt drive, that when cool weather comes and the President returns the town will take up its Utopia building with the old enthusiasm. But if that happens, it will be because that versatile magician has managed to produce an entirely new bunch of rabbits from his hard-working silk hat. These people are tired. Some of them are leaving, some are turning cynics, almost all of them are slowing down. Perhaps the surest index of their mood lies in the quality of the conversation one hears and the contrast between the parties of winter and summer. Not official conversation, not state parties, just the ordinary talk of ordinary young New Dealers.

They poured into Washington last summer, sick of depression inertia, full of energy and enthusiasm, delighted at the chance of doing something which seemed constructive. Young lawyers, economists, financiers, executives, industrialists come to look after codes, idealists burning to have at least one finger in molding the life of their country a little nearer to their heart's desire. The pace of work speeded up. In place of a leisurely seven or eight hours, these men worked ten, twelve, fourteen. People began to talk of wartime psychology, of emergency psychosis. Any man who was not obviously overworked felt apologetic. In spite of the Administration's outspoken desire to shorten hours, increase wages, and spread employment throughout the nation, the rule in Washington was that anyone who did a job well had twice as much to do the next day.

By October the new machine was running at top speed. Code makers filled all the hotels. Government buildings were jammed with new bureaus and new people, some of whom were unknown even to their own telephone operators. So much was being done that even the big dailies gave up trying to cover all the news. The town discovered an entirely new kind of social life. Casual people, these newcomers, with little sense of the hard and fast precedents and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conventions that rule Washington. Young men who kept no account of hours, who rented houses, installed cooks, lived as though they were in college fraternity houses, who seemed to have no responsibilities outside of their jobs, and were quite capable of wearing shorts to the office if it was hot. Young women of a type Washington hardly recognized, neither debutante nor civil-service clerk, capable of hard and intelligent work, wearing clothes well, not easy to step on.

Never since the war, they say, has there been as much good conversation in Washington as during the first nine months of the Roosevelt regime. It went from the top to the bottom, and it was not all emergency stuff. Men and women of many different minds worked together under a pressure that generated an enormous energy and an amazing curiosity. Any lunch, any dinner, any cocktail party burgeoned with new programs. The air was electric. Hard and fast ideas were stood on their heads. The marvel was that the Dr. Wirts heard so little.

It was not only immediate plans that interested these people, but the philosophies that lay back of them. Each of them needed to find out what the others thought were the basic things of life, theories of government, economic concepts—and why. What is money? What is labor's share, and what the best way to obtain it? Wherein does American capitalism differ from that described by Marx? What might communism do to America, and how would we like it? Is democracy actually finished?

Lawyers from Harvard who had sickened of Wall Street, social workers who had learned their liberalism under Johnson in California, agricultural and monetary experts from Texas and New York State, financiers from the Chicago Board of Trade, editors from Georgia, all trying to meet each other's minds, produced a particularly engaging set of mental gymnastics. How much permanent importance it had is another matter. Certainly it blew off steam, sometimes it resulted in a bit of mutual education, sometimes it merely set people more firmly in their own ruts.

To an onlooker it was immensely stimulating. Anybody was willing to talk about the whole experiment, or his own part of it, to anyone who would listen. Instead of having to dig for information, the conscientious observer found himself protecting officials from their own indiscretions. Newspaper people knew more, and told less, than for years.

Then Congress came back with fire in its eye, angry at neglect, outraged at what was happening, jealous for its prerogatives, its privileges, its influence. Georgetown resumed its ancient sway, though with a new set of hostesses. Alice Longworth was eclipsed by another and very different feminine Roosevelt in the White House. Ruth McCormick Sims was gone. But Arabella Greenaway, with a seat in Congress, a private fortune, a long friendship with the President's wife, and the reputation of possessing more charm than any other woman in Washington, took her place. Mary Harriman Rumsey rented a house from which she directed the destinies of the Consumers' Advisory Board when she was not commuting from New York. Frances Perkins lived with her, and had her housekeeping done and her parties given for her in the expansive Harriman way.

With Congress there came back a very different type of social life. The social structure of Washington is an involved and traditional thing, based on precedent and jealously guarded by its devotees. There is an elaborate system of inviting and accepting, of seating and being seated, of calling and receiving. The story of the Senator's wife who refused to enter a ladies' dressing room until the wife of a younger Senator who had preceded her went out, is told in all seriousness.

With one eye the traditionalists looked askance at the unconventional young, and with the other recognized them as potential cocktail partners and decorative dinner guests. After all, a lion was a lion, and the Brain Trust were the heroes of the hour. So fashionable ladies discovered economics, and the young, eating richer dinners, began to put on weight.

It was too early for real disillusionment to set in, but some of the more ardent idealists began to wear a slightly baffled air. The barriers of politics, inertia, established interest were telling. There is little of the good talk left now. The only people one finds discussing the larger aims of the New Deal are strangers just come to town or officials giving interviews in which they will be quoted. For most of those who work in it, the forest has vanished in the trees. Any mention of abolishing unemployment, establishing sound cooperation between worker and industrialist, gets a very weary eye. Conversation has dwindled into discussion of detail at the best, and virulent gossip at the worst. There is little of that exhilarating necessity for protecting key people against their own confidences. They are more apt to look about on all four sides of them, and then impart as a matter of the greatest secrecy something that was in all the papers at least two weeks ago—also characteristic of the old Washington.

There is nothing extraordinary or necessarily discouraging about such a let-down. The American people are good sprinters. They work in spurts, and then rest. The whoopee era was a spurt of one kind, the depression a rest period, however much it may have resembled national nervous prostration. The Roosevelt honeymoon was another and different spurt. What it did to Washington must be assessed now, for the honeymoon is definitely over. Its most obvious achievement is the super-government it has set up, that network of boards, authorities, corporations, administrations which has almost obscured the old departments. They have the President's interest and confidence, and the interest of the public. They also have the spending of gigantic sums of money in the administering of emergency legislation. Their office needs have outrun even the gigantic building program, and they are scattered about the city in almost any ancient mansion or old warehouse. Their clerical force is an army which has come from the ends of America, and, as New Dealers, has developed a queer cohesion which seems to have little to do with past lives or future hopes.

This New Deal army has almost eclipsed the older civil service. It is by and large of better mental caliber, more initiative, greater receptivity to new ideas. Perhaps it is thereby less dependable, less sure to stick no matter how stupid the job. Certainly it is resented by the older group, which regards it as a bunch of spoiled kids. Even the women in it who have, by sheer ability and the point of view that takes equality for granted, done more to secure a place in the governmental sun than Washington has ever seen, get no whole-hearted admiration from their elder sisters in service. But there is no reason why they should. The Brain Trusters are not admired by Congress.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Montana Challenges the Tyranny of Copper

By WARD KINNEY

Butte, Montana, July 12

TWO speeding cars careen through traffic, bounce over street-car tracks, roar up and down the precipitous streets of "the richest hill on earth." In the lead car, hard-pressed by pursuers, is an Anaconda Copper company gunman, alone. Five strikers are trailing him. Butte's somnolent police are unstirred. A few minutes later five sheepish men file into a crowded room and walk uneasily to chairs around a council table. Heads droop under the glare of an Irish veteran of many Butte wars.

"A fine bunch ye are! Ye let him get away!" says the old timer.

"He got to his girl's house and beat it from there; his car's faster than ours."

"His girl? Aye, she works at ——'s. Tomorrow every workin' man is to go to her counter, ask to see her goods, then say good and loud: 'So you're the little tramp who runs with that scab gunman on the hill!' Keep it up until she gets fired!"

And so Butte labor brings one more "peaceful and legal" weapon into play in the bitterest struggle in the history of battle-scarred Copper Hill, a history marred by treachery and humiliation for labor, jurisdictional fights when rifles spat across Butte streets, and the infamous lynching of the Wobbly, Frank Little, in 1917. And the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, for more than a quarter of a century czar of Montana, is fighting for its life.

"Bitterness? There ain't no bitterness in this strike. Just determination. And there hasn't been a soul hurt." So says a union leader. But there is bitterness—a pall of hate hangs over the city. Families and friends have split; daily community incidents, some funny, some tragic, testify to it. But there has been little violence. Since the union man made his boast, two men, a gunman and a scab driver, have been beaten. The gunman was arrested for drunkenness; unionists claim that his car, set afire during the melee, contained gas bombs and other weapons.

On May 8 approximately 3,600 miners and stationary engineers, members of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smeltermen, walked off Butte's hill. The same day 700 smeltermen at Anaconda quit. Two weeks later printers on the company's two newspapers in Helena, the State capital, walked out demanding a wage scale equal to that just granted by the two dailies in Great Falls (not company owned). And on June 7, 1,000 workers in the Great Falls reduction works of the Anaconda joined the march.

There was talk, and still is, that the company wanted a Butte strike, welcomed a shutdown for two months, and had "packed" the miners' union. Older heads in unionism held the strike ill-advised because, despite its grievances, Butte is reputedly the highest-paid mining town in the world. Nevertheless the miners struck, and so did the engineers, who had never walked out before; and along with them marched every pumper and every helmet man (water and fire-fighters), leaving one of the world's richest properties at the mercy of flame and flood.

Pumps were manned with officials, office workers, recruits from Great Falls and Anaconda clerical staffs, and whatever scabs the company could find. Pay is $6 a day and board and room, but scabs are scarce. Gunmen escort those who do not sleep on the properties to and from their homes. Some of them work sixteen hours a day.

The labor press reports water rising in the mines, but even the strikers doubt any serious danger. However, fires in three properties (the copper is in a sulphur formation which burns furiously) are gaining, and despite its offer of as high as $20 daily for helmet men, the company finds few recruits for this hazardous job.

Butte miners say they are fighting for an American living standard. They want an embargo or a prohibitively high tariff on copper. The company can mine its ore in its Mexican, Chilean, or Polish properties, ship it to the United States, pay the present four-cent duty and still sell at a profit at nine cents, they claim.

Demands in the present strike are five:

1. No man required to work alone underground.
2. Reestablishment of weekly wage scale and elimination of the "contract system of drilling."
3. Six-hour day and five-day week.
4. Check-off system.
5. Increased wages, amounting roughly to $1.20 an hour for miners against the 53 cents paid when the strike began: a weekly scale of $33.50 for surface labor, $35 for smeltermen, $36 for miners, $38.50 to $50 for engineers, and $72 for helmet men when using helmet.

Strikers insist that these are minimum demands, but most observers believe some of them would be compromised, including the wage section. Most important are the first two. Butte old timers say an average of one man daily is killed or injured in the mines, and many accidents could be averted or their effect minimized if two men worked together. The contract system is one by which, paying so much per yard drilled and slashing the rate at will, the company has been able to cut wages steadily throughout the depression. Miners complain that despite a State law limiting mine shifts to eight hours, they have had to work ten or twelve to obtain $5, the minimum for survival on half-time or less.

The struggle has become more than a strike. The company is aware that, all over Montana, enemies it has crushed underfoot for twenty-five years are watching this battle; and the company has been confronted by the most amazing solidarity ever seen in the State. The most effective boycott Montana has ever known began in Butte on the day of the strike. Merchants were asked, then told, by unionists, not to advertise in the two company papers. They complied with a willingness startling to the Anaconda, which began

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to realize with considerable shock that the city of Butte, long its feudal domain, was heart and soul against its noble lord.

After the strike had been on a month, the two papers (the Montana *Standard* and the Butte *Post*) carried only two local advertisements of appreciable size, those of Symons' and Hennessy's, large department stores. A big grocery which had planned to break the boycott changed its mind when on June 12 the Silver Bow (County) Trades Assembly ordered complete boycott of the two stores. The papers shrank, picked up each other's type, frantically cut expenses.

The Butte Retail Clerks Union ordered merchants to cease deliveries to scabs. The company press protested, but many merchants obeyed. Unconsciously funny, the Montana *Standard* said: "There were no developments yesterday in the effort to prevent merchants from deliveries to families of men working in the mines . . . other than that certain stores already had put into effect the ban. . . ."

Throughout the United States, Canada, and much of Europe, mine strikers leave men to protect the properties unless operators employ scab miners. The company has made no attempt to mine ore. Why then were pumpers and helmet men called out?

The reason lies deep rooted in the soil of Butte, planted alongside seeds of hate which at last have sprouted. First, consider Butte: It is one of the dirtiest, and yet, as Joseph Pennell called it, one of the most pictorial cities in the United States. The Department of Commerce survey this spring showed that 64 per cent of Butte homes needed repairs; 32 per cent have less than adequate space for the families housed; more than 2,000 of the 10,727 dwelling units surveyed, practically 20 per cent, have no indoor toilets; more than 3,000 have no bathtub or shower, more than 6,000 still use wood or coal ranges.

A Consumers' Council survey this month revealed that for every normally-fed child in Butte, five are undernourished; Mrs. Francis Robbins, who compiled the study, is quoted in dispatches as saying, "Butte apparently has one of the highest undernourishment records in the country in proportion to its population."

Now, consider Butte labor: In 1930 Butte teamsters and machinists struck against a threatened $1-a-day cut and reversion to the nine-hour day. Butte's Associated Industries scabbed on wholesalers' trucks and forced merchants to accept goods so transported. Clerks walked out and a general strike was planned, so with James D. Graham, who heads the State Federation of Labor, a union delegation called upon Governor (now Senator) J. E. Erickson to beg him not to call out troops, at least without personal investigation. The results of this conference were not made public, but unionists were only convinced of their lack of influence in high political quarters. The militia was not called out. They returned to Butte and the strike was settled after a company threat to smash unionism in Montana, the men taking a cut in wages but retaining the eight-hour day.

In December, 1932, Butte's retail clerks were refused renewal of their contract. Labor saw this as the opening shot in another open-shop drive and the clerks struck, followed by teamsters and building trades. Bill Daly, company mine manager, was accused by unionists of dragging miners' and engineers' leaders out of bed in the night to demand that they end the downtown strike, with another union-smashing threat as alternative. The strike was won, but that threat rankled.

Now, consider the company: One day Butte miners, grumbling under wage cuts, layoffs, and meager relief, found on their doorsteps copies of a tabloid-size free newspaper, the *Eye-Opener*. Published by Charles Hauswirth, a successful coal merchant and long-time foe of Anaconda, and edited by Walter Shay, a rebellious descendant of the Shays of Shay's Rebellion, it presented the following statistics from the Federal Trade Commission's report:

"John D. Ryan, chairman of Anaconda, 1932 salary $214,383, bonus $2,597; Con Kelley, president, 1932 salary $249,232, bonus $3,438." Both had received more in previous years, but the company-owned press had been telling Butte that 1932 was the company's most desperate year.

Hauswirth's little weekly, formerly mimeographed, now prints some 28,000 copies a week. Still free, it finds buyers at twenty-five cents a copy a few hours after completion of the press run. Shay shares the field with the Montana *Labor News,* the organ of the State Federation, edited by a Congregational minister, the Reverend Charles Sebold, much given to piercing company press hypocrisies, and the Butte *Citizen,* the leaflet from the strike committee, listing scabs. This is typical of *Citizen* items:

"W. X. ——, member of engineers' union for thirty years, says he patched his overalls to educate his son; now the son is inside the Leonard fence making dirty money while his dad is on FERA making clean money and doing his hitch on the picket line. He is heartily ashamed of his son."

Lastly, consider relief: Throughout the Hoover Administration relief was controlled by the company. In March, 1934, after a legislative investigation, the Butte board, headed by Colonel D. Gay Stivers, a company attorney, quit. Among CWA abuses charged to this board by a minority report of the legislative committee (the State assembly turned it down and adopted the majority report) was the use of the "rustling card" and extensive employment of political or business "friends" of the A. C. M. on relief payrolls. The "rustling card" had been a symbol of bitter labor hatred in Butte for many years. Issued by the Mutual Labor Board, it permits the holder to seek work in the company's city. Those who were known as radicals never got cards; those who became radical were likely to lose theirs. Without one relief was unavailable.

Relief now (the miners are on it during the strike) is hailed as eminently satisfactory. Meanwhile R. C. Jacobson, federal mediator, liked by the men, continues his efforts to obtain some concessions from either side, not very hopefully. Conferences now have been moved to Washington, where last week Senator Wagner reported "progress." The strikers, whose general committee in charge of negotiations has included about fifty men, have so far refused to send a contingent to Washington.

As long as relief continues there probably will be no serious violence in Butte. Discipline is extraordinary, for all of Butte's previous wars have been bloody and vicious. But if relief should stop—the Anaconda has a fortune in hoist equipment, not too hard to sabotage; and all of Butte's power enters the city on two 100-mile lines over mountain wilderness. On July 6 somebody tossed a chain across the power line into Belmont mine, stopping the pumps for ten minutes. It would be easy to throw another chain, more effective next time, and the mile-high city in the Rockies and its "richest hill on earth" would be left to darkness and to terror.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Leningrad Letter: II

By HAROLD J. LASKI

Leningrad, June 25

I HAD too little time to examine in any detail the Russian educational system. But such examination as I was able to make left me with certain impressions it is perhaps worth while to record. The scale of the effort is unique in the history of the world. The passion for knowledge, especially among the young, is well-nigh universal; and the communists have done a remarkable work in making intellectual improvement seem a moral obligation to the citizen. Books are devoured as soon as they appear; the public libraries cannot even begin to cope with the numbers who desire to use them. The defects appeared to me to lie (1) in the absence of a sufficient supply of trained teachers; (2) in rather poor text books (through Stalin's personal intervention a big effort is being made to remedy this weakness); (3) in rather low (though, in the circumstances of the time and scale of the effort, understandably low) and superficial standards of attainment; and (4) in a certain tendency, after all not unknown in capitalist countries, to regard soundness of political views rather than really effective knowledge as a passport to appointment. All these defects are born, clearly, of youth and the exhilaration of a revolutionary atmosphere. It is interesting that a serious attempt will be made, beginning next year, in Moscow University to develop a historical faculty on the normal academic model; and a proof of the Russian eagerness for the best methods available may be found in the fact that the man who is to teach English and American history is to be sent abroad for six months to study the methods in vogue there.

I inquired with some care into the religious position. There is, I think, no doubt that the churches are fighting a losing battle. They have little interest or prestige for the younger generation. Education and propaganda have decisively undermined the authority of superstition, and the inability of the churches to organize any social work among their members has been a fatal barrier to their progress. Among the older people, especially the peasants, religion still counts for something; but the inability to acquire property, on the one hand, and the absence of any political recognition on the other, are a fatal barrier in the way of their future. There appears to be nothing that in a strict sense can be called persecution; there is merely a refusal to allow to the churches the opportunity to develop those social institutions which, together with their property, have been the basis of their power in the Western world. I believe it to be true that emotions previously satisfied by religious beliefs are now satisfied far more fully by the exhilaration offered to millions in the opportunity directly to participate in the great economic adventure upon which Russia is engaged. It is clear, further, that to those who are at all profoundly conscious of the import of the revolution the churches are indissolubly linked with the worst social features of the Czarist regime; to accept the value of the one is, almost automatically, to reject the value of the other. I doubt whether there is much serious need for the militant atheist propaganda.

No one who discusses Russian problems with the political leaders of the country can doubt the reality of their desire for peace. They need it, as perhaps no other people, for the fulfilment of their great economic task; and the drastic proposals for disarmament and security they have made at Geneva are not merely window-dressing, intended to exhibit the impotence of capitalist states before the problems of peace, but also, in very considerable part, a genuine effort to obtain a breathing-space to consolidate the internal position of the Soviet Union. At the same time, the leaders are fully convinced that war is ultimately certain. To that end, they have not only built up a great army fully equipped with every device modern technique has developed. They have also created a passionate national spirit in the general population the mobilization of which, in the event of attack, would make Russia far more formidable as an enemy than at any period in her history, and far less likely to suffer from internal divisions of opinion than any other power in the world. In the Anglo-American sense of the word, there is literally no pacifist movement in Russia. The conviction (in my judgment, a correct conviction) that war is rooted, not in human nature, but in the inherent principles of the capitalist system, is so universal that to prepare oneself for the inevitable attack seems elementary common sense to three out of every four people one meets of military age, men and women alike. Conscription apart, it is a common experience to find that in any big factory a rifle range is part of the ordinary equipment, and that about one-third of the workers there have qualified as skilled marksmen. Nor can one doubt the popularity of the Red army. It occupies a place of honorable consideration in the Union such as the army of no capitalist state even begins to possess. The intensity, moreover, of its political convictions, and both the width and depth of its educational training are unique in the history of the world.

It is worth while, I think, to emphasize also the passion of the Russian government for research. The savant, especially where his work has visible practical significance, has a consideration and a status in the union which are remarkable. I do not know enough in detail to give any special emphasis to this generalization. But from such inquiries as I was able to make I should judge that not merely in the natural sciences, but in more humanistic fields like ethnography, history, law, linguistics (through the exploration of the hardly known peoples of the extreme north, the southeast, and the far east), work is being done of high significance. If a body like the Rockefeller Foundation were to devote some of its resources to making known to the Western world some of the results of recent Russian work in these fields, I believe it would render an immense service to scholarship. For it is not merely the enormous additions to knowledge that are taking place; perhaps even more it is the revision of accepted values that it would be significant for us to understand in all its fullness. A series of reports by experts on recent Russian work in the fields I have noted would be invaluable; even in English history, for instance, certain problems are being investigated with a fullness never before attempted. And a full study of Russian legal experience in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recent years, on the lines of Mr. Hoover's Commission on Law Enforcement, would, in my judgment, yield results as stimulating for law reform as the work of Jeremy Bentham over a century ago.

In so brief a discussion as this, it would obviously be futile for me even to attempt any general estimate of the Russian experiment. But I may perhaps make certain inferences from the impact of experiencing it at first hand which will at least serve to illustrate the kind of conclusions which, in a fuller survey, I should be tempted to draw. I start with the premise that the revolution is the seminal fact of modern history: it has brought the discussion of socialism from the realm of abstract doctrine to the plane of concrete practice. From this angle, it is a challenge to capitalist civilization of which it is impossible to overestimate the significance. The challenge consists in the growing ability of the Soviet Union to prove that it can do for the masses all that capitalism has been able to effect in its history; that it can do it, in ever-increasing measure, without giving birth to the privileges and injustices which are inherent in the capitalist regime. The cost of the experiment is enormous; but the Soviet government has been able to convince its people that the cost is worth while. To produce that conviction, it has had to be, as in large measure it remains, relentless, harsh, intolerant. Dictatorship is not a picnic; it is a regime of deliberate and organized repression which sweeps ruthlessly out of its path all who are unable to conform to its purposes. To those who do so conform, indeed, it offers opportunities of creative adventure as rich and as full as any system with which I am acquainted. It means hardship, self-denial, the continuous and profound subordination of self. If its objectives can be accepted, it obviously makes possible, even for the humblest, an exhilarating fulfilment of personality such as Wordsworth caught in his first enthusiasm for the French Revolution. For the spirit which doubts, it means profound discomfort; for the spirit which denies, it means imprisonment and possibly death. It is the expression of a movement to the intensity of which no one can remain indifferent.

It is an error of judgment to conceive of proletarian dictatorship as simply and directly the enemy of freedom. It is, unquestionably, the enemy of the freedom which capitalist democracy has secured. The restraints are different in character, and directed to different ends. But I doubt whether any reasonable observer could argue that these restraints are incompatible with that affirmation of the essence of personality which is the criterion by which the quality of states is to be judged. There has been more realization of personality under the Soviet regime than in any comparable epoch in history. The method of expression has been different; it has not been less real. The real difference has lain in the width of assumptions possible under the capitalist regime, on the one hand, and the communist regime on the other. I believe myself that the tolerance and freedom open under capitalism were simply a function of its expanding prosperity; as this has declined, so they also have contracted until, in extreme cases, they reach the repressions characteristic of Hitler and Mussolini. That tolerance and freedom, in a word, are characteristic of capitalist security; they disappear with its disappearance. So, similarly, the intolerance and repression characteristic of proletarian dictatorship are the symptoms of communist insecurity; they will disappear as conviction of security emerges in Russia. But for those who, in Russia, are able to adapt themselves to the foundations of the new system there are opportunities, and therefore freedoms, comparable in volume to those of the early days of the industrial revolution. The class affected is, of course, both different and wider, and it does not depend upon its ability to procure the use of capital for its private well-being. For this reason, I believe the claim of the bolsheviks that their form of state is a higher form than that of capitalist democracy to be well-founded; the relation it establishes between individual self-expression and the public welfare is more direct and real than is the case under capitalism in general, and capitalism in decline in particular.

On the other hand, I believe that the conditions under which the bolsheviks were able to secure power were special conditions unlikely to be easily available in the Western industrial democracies. It is far more difficult there to break the large and well-knit middle classes (which hardly existed in Russia). It needs, for the success of communism, a disrupted machinery of government, a disloyal and discontented army and police, revolutionary feeling in the working-class, a trained and disciplined revolutionary party to lead that class, and a revolutionary leader of something like Lenin's caliber to lead the party. These conditions are only likely to emerge after a long epoch of capitalist repression, for example, after an experience of a Hitlerite regime or in the aftermath of unsuccessful war. Without these conditions, no successful attempt at revolution is possible; and the effort to promote communism will only hasten the transformation of capitalist democracy into fascism. That the latter, in the long run, means communism, I should add that I do not doubt.

The real lesson, I think, of Russia is this. The general principles of its ideal are the inescapable outlines of any future civilization which hopes to retain civilized standards, material and spiritual, of life. The question the dominating class of capitalist society has to answer is whether it is capable of so reforming itself, and so rapidly transforming itself, as to make the transition to a socialist society relatively so painless as to be capable of being peacefully effected. Communists affirm that this is impossible of achievement; while I lack the certainty of their conviction, the experience of Italy, Germany, Austria, and Spain, to take only the more prominent examples, makes it probable that they may prove to be right. And it is a reasonable inference from the present international position that we are moving, as in 1914, to an epoch of great wars, of which the consequence will be revolution. Capitalist democracy will not survive those wars, for the capitalist class will not pay their cost since its need for profit will cause it to throw the burden on the masses who will seek to revolt against it. In these terms, we shall enter upon an epoch in which fascist and communist states will confront one another with the knowledge that their principles are finally incompatible. In those epochs, also, I think, it will be shown that the Soviet Union has a power of internal stability which is unattainable by any competing form of social organization. The lesson, therefore, of the position we inherit is the urgent need for the peaceful and drastic transformation of the foundations of capitalist society while there is time to effect it. But I doubt whether the capitalist regime permits that kind of abdication to those who profit by its operations.

[*The first of Mr. Laski's two Russian letters appeared in last week's* Nation.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Zero Hour on the Coast

By GRACE METTEE

San Francisco, July 13

[*The following description is excerpted from a letter written by a travelling labor organizer to her national headquarters.*]

WE hitch-hiked from here to Bellingham, Washington, and back, 2,400 miles along the coast. We met and talked to a great many of the men who are on strike and had a chance to keep up with it as we went along because all of the Pacific coast is tied up.

This is too big to realize unless you see it. All along the coast, even in the smallest towns, ships are lying at anchor in the harbors and at the piers and men are on picket duty. At Portland there is no gasoline and it was difficult for us to get out of town as very few cars are running. Pickets on the outskirts of the town on all highways are stopping trucks, and just as we came along two four-thousand-gallon tanks of gas had been run over a cliff into a ravine. The drivers were beaten and forced to walk back in the direction they had come. But the gas made a big fire and the whole side of the hill covered with pines was burning.

We had a hard time getting back to San Francisco as there was no traffic going in that direction. The whole coast has a gas shortage. We were finally picked up by a State highway policeman who brought us the last 150 miles. He had a small truck loaded with gasoline barrels he was bringing through for the use of ambulances and he had a permit from the ILA to cross picket lines.

In Frisco, the Embarcadero looks like a section of wartime France with barbed-wire enclosures and soldiers standing about five feet apart all along the shore for miles. They have been ordered to shoot to kill. Since the Guard has been here the picketers have simply changed their tactics and have started to overturn trucks all over the city and destroy their contents so that no goods can be moved to the waterfront.

Outside of town we saw twenty-three gasoline tank cars lined up by the side of the road. Some of them had been there for four days and their drivers were camped under a guard of several hundred pickets and a couple of State police. They were peaceful and quiet, some of them cooking over a fire and some of them washing clothes.

Contrary to stories in some papers, the Communists are taking almost no part in the strike outside of holding street meetings attended by a dozen people or so. This strike was not whipped up by radicals of any kind. It is a spontaneous strike that grew out of the action of an A. F. of L. union. Ryan was here and tried to settle the strike and even signed peace terms and until his terms were rejected he denied the very existence of reds. Now he is saying that the strike was taken out of his control by the Communists. The strike got out of his control when he signed an agreement while in conference with the Mayor and his board of mediators at which there were none of the rank and file present. After he did this he was voted out of the strike committee and a new one was formed that has had control of the situation ever since. Ryan is about as popular here as Roosevelt and whenever Roosevelt's name is mentioned at meetings he gets the bird. The strikers here are redder than any Communist I ever saw. I watched them turn over a truck load of rice. They cut the sacks open and poured the rice in the radiator. Then they started the engine and let it run until it stopped of itself. After that they threw the truck over and left it upside down across the streetcar tracks. The strikers filled a sewer full of rice and gave bags of it to kids and people who asked for it.

Everyone is fishing, rich and poor alike. Meat is almost non-existent, except in hospitals. Pickets help bring in supplies for hospitals and accompany the trucks to their destination. Doctors are broadcasting diet instructions to ward off attacks of scurvy and dysentery due to the limited food supply. Several minor strikes in the canneries which attracted little notice previously have now caused the complete loss of the tomato and apricot crop.

Everyone I have spoken to here is hungry to know what is going on in the East and has been wondering if we are actually as prosperous and satisfied as the press here would have them believe. I was amazed when I came here to learn that the depression was over back East and that there was no unemployment there any more. When I described Eastern conditions to these people they couldn't get enough of it and many of them told me that it gave them greater courage to know that there were real radicals in the East and that they were doing things. They thought they were isolated out here and were the only unpatriotic people in the country.

In the Driftway

THE elaborate ugliness of the houses human beings build at the seashore has always fascinated the Drifter. As a people, Americans seem to prefer bad architecture, but seaside houses have a special kind of ugliness which must spring from something deeper than bad taste. It is international and its transcends even the laws of economics. Most summer houses are occupied only a few months a year which would seem to be an excellent reason for keeping them simple. Moreover, eaves dripping with gingerbread are not designed to withstand the blasts of a good southeaster. Yet the shores of the world are lined with cupolas and turrets, curlicues and doodads, which can serve no conceivable purpose except to clutter up the view.

* * * * *

IT is the Drifter's private theory that the purpose is just that. The sea continues to be a pretty overwhelming phenomenon before which the human animal must in some way assert his superiority. In the course of the centuries he has managed to build up a comforting defiance of most natural forces. He has filled the darkness with a billion lights. He has filled the open spaces with cities. He has filled up time with busyness. He has filled up all available silences with noise. He has never been able to do much about the sea, though he does what he can. When he crosses it he gets as far away from it as he can afford to—preferably on the A deck of a floating hotel. And when he goes to its shore for a rest from his lights, his cities, his busyness, and his noise—for he is after all an animal whose strength can be renewed only from natural forces—he bolsters up his ego with the visual racket of cupolas and turrets.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE only seaside resort the Drifter knows which does not fit his theory nevertheless confirms it. He is thinking of Nantucket in general and of 'Sconset in particular. The native boast that 95 per cent of Nantucket architecture is good is only a slight overstatement. Yet the whole island is for the most part a summer resort. The miracle is easy to explain. Nantucket's towns were fishing villages before they became summer resorts. Of necessity the people who make their living from the sea have long ago come to terms with it. And they would be as likely to build a tower dripping with gingerbread as to go to sea in a papier maché boat. The typical 'Sconset house is trim and low, like a sailing ship's cabin, clinging to the ground as a sailboat clings to the sea. One almost expects to see hatches instead of doors, and she lies so close to the earth that it seems as if most of her living space must be below decks. Her horizontal lines offer no resistance to the wind. And even the ancient rambler roses that cover her seem less like a decoration than a network of thongs to batten her down against the wildest storms. The other half of the miracle is that the inhabitants of Nantucket are proud of its whaling past and have managed to preserve its sea-going architecture. The Drifter hopes their vigilance will not relax. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Good English

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The editors of *The Nation* presumably have never taught English. Leastwise the editorial on Good English in the issue of June 27 betrays a complete failure to perceive the motives behind the establishment of a "corrective English clinic" at Princeton.

Similar remedial measures for undergraduate illiterates are common among State institutions—and are of doubtful effectiveness. There is, however, no question of establishing standards, and the point that professors differ in their opinions as to what constitutes good English only befogs the issue. It clearly does not rise to that high ground.

As Dean Root is reported to have said, "Split infinitives and dangling participles are not the greatest sins. Some of them [i. e., the students] don't know how to write a sentence even good enough to have a split infinitive." That is demonstrably true. Yet the difficulty of the student backward in English is not simply a lack of knowledge of grammar and syntax. Grammatical and rhetorical principles (with a few important exceptions, such as the use of "shall" and "will") are wholly and completely logical. Accordingly, the defect of the so-called illiterate student is not so much ignorance of language as incapacity to think. That explains why "corrective" English instruction, practically speaking, is a total loss.

Prospect, Ohio, July 2 WILLIAM BURL THOMAS

Abolish the R.O.T.C.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

An editorial in your issue of July 4 is devoted to praising the Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota for having "done the really fine thing of placing military training on an optional basis."

"From reading it, one has a sense of knowing the status quo abroad."
—N. Y. TIMES

EUROPE BETWEEN WARS?

by

Hamilton Fish Armstrong

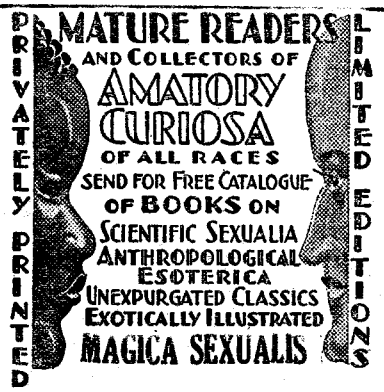
An absorbing, accurately pictured panorama of recent European developments, by an expert.

"Sober, intelligent . . . the best of the book is his interpretation of the tangled skein of Balkan politics."
—N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

at all bookstores $1.25

MACMILLAN

RACIAL ARTS OF LOVE



All FALSTAFF scientific and anthropological Books on the Love Relations of Mankind *are enthralling and highly informative documents by authorities of international repute. That is why the FALSTAFF list of permanent subscribers reads like a "Who's Who" of* America's Sophisticated Intellectual Aristocracy.

FALSTAFF PRESS
Dept. 11-NA, 230 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Please send me free illustrated catalogs of Amatory Curiosa.

City..... *State*.....

Address .....

Name..... *Age*

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is unfortunate that the editorial in no way indicates that recent student protest has been directed not only at the compulsory features of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, but at the institution and everything it stands for. One might as well protest against compulsory Latin or Physics as against compulsory R. O. T. C. The menace of the R. O. T. C. is its function as a propaganda machine for the War Department. It exercises this function whether or not it is compulsory through war parades, distribution of literature, statements in the school press, and the general recognition it receives from the administration.

It is our impression that *The Nation* has in all recent comment on the subject attacked compulsory R. O. T. C. rather than the institution itself. The National Student League has taken an unequivocal stand against the R. O. T. C. in both its compulsory and optional forms. We should like to know where *The Nation* stands on this matter.

New York, July 5 JOSEPH COHEN

Colorado Relief

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

In an attempt to confirm or refute the assertion of James Rorty in your issue of June 27 that Colorado stood next to the lowest State in the distribution of relief, giving only a little more than $5 per month per family, I was practically refused all figures by C. D. Shawver, State administrator.

Of $2,051,437 expended in the first four months of 1934, shown on a blueprint said to have been sent to Washington, all went to approximately 50,000 families, then the amount per month was $500,000 and the amount per family (if averaged) was $10. Estimating another way, 20 per cent of a million people are on relief, and there are 4.2 persons per family, again giving 50,000 families. In June, 1933, they were 47,051; in June, 1934, 56,470. An average of $10 a month for a family of four is scandalous enough; yet there are rumblings that allowances are being cut. The alleged report to Washington did not contain $615,865 which has been paid from the gasoline tax to the relief administration by the State treasurer. It was omitted because the government asked for "local" funds, and "local" was deemed to mean county. Practically no "local" funds were shown outside Denver, Pueblo, and Colorado Springs. The administrator did not tell what has been done with the $615,865.

In my opinion, one-fifth of Colorado is starving, while Governor Johnson makes speeches about lowering taxes. Another candidate for governor, former Governor Adams, will be voted for in the democratic primary by the republican banking fraternity, who whisper that he is "safe." Josephine Roche, liberal candidate for Governor, has not proposed any plan, but is being offered that of Upton Sinclair. Contrary to the situation in California, where for three months the heat of a national election has warmed the atmosphere, Colorado is quiet; newspapers are meek; and one wonders whether Miss Roche will make enough noise to attract liberal republicans and democrats as Sinclair is doing.

Denver, Colo., July 3 ALFRED F. ISHAM

CURZON and POINCAIRÉ CLASH

On the right is a typical scene from

CURZON

The Last Phase 1919 - 1925 by Harold Nicolson

which Frank H. Simonds calls: "Not only the best book Nicolson has yet written but also the single book in English that gives an authentic and objective interpretation of British policy in the decisive post-war years from 1919-1924."

In the first session, Lord Curzon, in precise but cutting phrases, summarized the disloyalty of the French during the last two years. . . . In the afternoon M. Poincaré responded to this attack. His voice was dry, his words were clipped, his insults were lancets of steel. Curzon's wide, white hand on the green baize cloth trembled violently. He could stand it no further. Rising from his seat, he muttered something about an adjournment and limped hurriedly into an adjoining room. He was accompanied by his secretary and by Lord Hardinge, then our Ambassador in Paris. He collapsed upon a scarlet settee. He grasped Lord Hardinge by the arm. "Charley," he panted, "I can't bear that horrid little man. I can't bear him. I can't bear him." He wept.

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO.

Finance

Big Business in Search of New Friends

SINCE the start of the Roosevelt Administration, most of the professional spokesmen of business have floundered uneasily before the unaccustomed spectacle of an openly hostile and disrespectful public opinion, dangerously near to control of the functions of government. The search by these interests for a fresh source of mass political influence has had varied manifestations. One of these was the scheme of exploiting the untested political power of small investors. Another was the decision of certain industrial groups, in the interests of expediency, to soft-pedal direct attacks on the Roosevelt Administration. But by far the most adept trail-blazer for a new technique has been Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., president of General Motors and servant of one of the most powerful industrial groups in the country—the Du Pont family. For three months Mr. Sloan has been engaged, with cautious indirection, in setting himself up as a principal opponent of Rooseveltian policies. He has carried on his campaign both by means of public speeches and by appeals to the 352,000 stockholders of General Motors. The chief novelty of his approach lies in his scrupulous care to avoid direct mention of the Roosevelt Administration, which lends him an air of political impartiality, and in his fervent espousal of the cause of greater prosperity for all. The chief strength of his argument lies in its concentration on the outstanding contradiction of the Roosevelt program—the restriction of production in some lines at a time when the crying need of the nation is for a greater quantity of essential goods. Behind this valid criticism, Sloan has masked the essential point of his creed, which is that any form of restriction on profits is "bad and undesirable" because it reduces purchasing power, prevents progress, curtails production, and lowers employment.

The fallacies of this superstructure of propaganda are self-evident since it completely ignores the question of how to reconcile with the present facilities for production the restrictions im-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

posed by the profit system on mass purchasing power. But this fallacy does not interfere with the value of his message for purposes of ballyhoo. This was shown by the immense volume of favorable publicity obtained by the forum on industrial progress which he arranged at this year's Chicago Fair. Industrialists, scientists, and educators described extravagantly on this occasion the wave of prosperity which would follow from full exploitation of existing and pending industrial technique—if only the blighting hand of government regulation were removed from business initiative. Although no attempt was made to explain the failure of this utopia to emerge prior to the imposition of the blighting hand, the vision of "a more abundant economy" was no longer an exclusive monopoly of the Roosevelt Administration. And so astutely did Sloan lay his political lines that he maneuvered the President into sending a congratulatory message of endorsement to a meeting designed primarily to attack his own policies.

Sloan has now joined forces with the rejuvenated and reorganized Crusaders. This group, having outlived its usefulness as an anti-prohibition organization and having run up a blind alley in its attempt to dramatize the fight against inflation last fall, has turned to large-scale political activities on a platform which would provide an acceptable framework for American fascism. The Crusaders' "statement of principles" is devised to appeal to a wide variety of political palates. To those frightened by the occasional departure from orthodoxy at Washington and anxious to enlist in the cause of canceling the few important concessions won since the advent of Roosevelt, the Crusaders offer themselves as a "great voluntary organization which is militantly opposing all efforts of radical minorities to enforce their views on the majority." To the patriots, the Crusaders insist upon Americanism and constitutionalism; to the financially conservative they offer an emphasis on sound money, a balanced budget, "bearable taxation," and support of individual business enterprise. For the benefit of those who have been divorced from their traditional political allegiances by the scandals of recent years, the Crusaders appeal for "intelligent reform," explaining that "we want it plainly understood that we do not stand for reactionary orthodoxy." Nor are the farmers overlooked, since the Crusaders call for the "correction of conditions which have for years placed the agricultural producer at an unfair disadvantage."

Sloan's self-confessed allegiance to a common prosperity is matched by the Crusaders' confession of "no interest but the welfare of the American people." His associates on the advisory council of the organization include such disinterested parties as John W. Davis, counsel for J. P. Morgan and Company; Sewell L. Avery, president of Montgomery Ward; Francis H. Brownell, chairman of the Board of American Smelting; Frank Purnell, president of Youngstown Sheet and Tube; Cleveland E. Dodge, vice-president of the Phelps, Dodge Copper Company; Percy H. Johnston, Fred I. Kent, and James P. Warburg—three prominent New York bankers who escaped unscarred from the late scalping of banking reputations—and Professor Kemmerer of Princeton who recently foretold disaster for the great institutions of the country because of the prevailing tax burden on wealthy men.

While the true economic interests of such a group are self-evident, their sponsorship of the Crusaders' aims is significant as an attempt by an influential segment within big business to adjust its surface attitude to changed political standards. Particularly if the Crusaders take over the form of economic propaganda invented by Mr. Sloan and if the Roosevelt Administration continues to fall short of its recovery hopes, these efforts might easily restore the discredited old regime.

PETER HELMOOP NOYES

The ●RECOMMENDED BY PHYSICIANS

SEX TECHNIQUE IN MARRIAGE

CONDENSED RESUMÉ

PREPARATION FOR MARRIAGE
THE SEX ORGANS OF MEN; OF WOMEN
SEX INSTINCT IN MEN; IN WOMEN
ANALYSIS OF SEX INTERCOURSE
THE TECHNIQUE OF THE SEX-ACT
PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS
THE FIRST SEX-ACT
ADJUSTMENT TO SEX LIFE; DIFFICULTIES; MUTUAL CONSIDERATION
FREQUENCY OF INTERCOURSE
POSITIONS IN PERFORMING THE SEX-ACT
INFLUENCE OF AGE, SEX INSTINCT, HEALTH
SEX INTERCOURSE DURING PREGNANCY; AFTER CHILD BIRTH
INABILITY TO PERFORM SEXUALLY
MENSTRUATION AND THE "CHANGE OF LIFE"
CURABLE CHILDLESSNESS
THE VALUE OF BIRTH CONTROL

FIVE DIAGRAMS

THE MALE SEX ORGANS (TWO VIEWS)
THE FEMALE SEX ORGANS (TWO VIEWS)
MALE AND FEMALE REPRODUCTIVE CELLS

INTERNATIONAL ACCLAIM

Below are a few of scores of publications, lay and medical, that have praised SEX TECHNIQUE: Journal of the American Medical Association; Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin; The Lancet (London); American Journal of Psychiatry; Japan Medical World; American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology; Indian Medical Gazette; American Journal of Nursing; Irish Journal of Medical Science; Cleveland Press; Canadian Practitioner; San Francisco News; Medical Journal of Australia; Cincinnati Inquirer; Scottish Health; Providence Journal; Parents Magazine; Medical Times; British Medical Journal; Journal of Neurology and Psychopathology; King's College Magazine; Public Health (London); Eugenics Review (London); Middlesex Hospital Journal; London Hospital Gazette, etc., etc.

By ISABEL EMSLIE HUTTON, M.B., Ch.B., M.D.
Physician to the British Hospital for Functional Mental and Nervous Diseases, London

Foreword by IRA S. WILE, M.D.
Former Commissioner of Education, New York City

Authoritative Comment

"THE SEX TECHNIQUE IN MARRIAGE is a clear, succinct, non-emotional, authoritative and conservative exposition of the practical factors involved in making marriage successful on the sexual level."
—Ira S. Wile, M.D.

"Dr. Ira Wile describes the book exactly. . . . It is primarily concerned with the conduct of the honeymoon and with the technic of the sexual performance."
—Morris Fishbein, M.D.

"A practical work . . . with a modern point of view, and the author has certainly been guided by good judgment as to what constitutes general medical opinion."
—Journal of the American Medical Association.*

"It is a book that can be safely recommended by physicians and parents."
—Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin.

* The membership of the A.M.A. consists of approximately 100,000 physicians.

"Sexual pleasure, wisely used, may prove the stimulus and liberator of our finest and most exalted activities."
—*Havelock Ellis.*

Price $2.00 (Postage 15c extra) **EMERSON BOOKS, Inc.** **333 Sixth Ave., N.Y. C.**

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

What Is a Poem?

T. S. ELIOT is an individual who happens to combine the virtues of poet and rhetorician and critic in his own person, with the emphasis perhaps on the poet and the rhetorician rather than on the critic. The value of his criticism lies not in the formation and explication of any consistent body of doctrine but in the independent remarks and observations made by the way in his more pretentious writings, and gathered, it may be, from his own experience as poet. That they do relate to some aspect of poetry, and that aspect often accidental, may be granted; that there is any touching of the essence must be denied, for what the significance of the term is, this Mr. Eliot has never told us; and the ordering of its parts he has never given. I. A. Richards, like Mr. Eliot, brings to the study and to the analysis of one subject, and a subject in which he shows great powers of perception, the learning gathered in the study of another; but even more than Mr. Eliot, under the pretense of judging and analyzing a subject under the name of one science, in reality he analyzes it under the aspect of a science altogether different. Mr. Richards is something of a psychologist and theologian (art, we are told, consists in the satisfaction of impulse; and, again, through poetry we are saved), but the consideration of a poem as a part of the subject matter of psychology or theology or even of rhetoric, while it may please as well as instruct, not only fails to touch but brings us nowhere near a Poetic.

I have selected the names of Mr. Eliot and Mr. Richards because admittedly they represent the two most distinguished figures of today in the criticism of English poetry; and so take it for granted that if they are the source of some error and confusion, the lesser-known figures are in even worse case. There are the Marxians, to whom a poem and its social significance are one, and there are those who still hold poetry to be prophecy or a way of life, or what comes to the same thing, of escape and reverie. I consider all these to be in error, not because what they say is false or completely inapplicable to poetry, but because their statements, although they may hold true of a part of a poem or signify some accident of it, do not state what a poem is, nor do they express that which constitutes the essence.

With all these opinions the same error is involved, though it takes form in directly opposite ways. I refer to the failure to understand either what constitutes a complex essence, or what the nature, the scope, and the limit of definition is. In the one case there is the failure to perceive that while it is true enough that all the elements and parts of a poem must take their beginnings from the world, our experience, habits, perceptions, attitudes, and the like, yet it is just as true that the thing constituted does differ from them in kind. That to isolate them from the poem, and then to speak of them as independent existences apart from their mediation to the end which is the poem, is to say nothing at all about the poem. In the other case there is the perception that a poem is a real and independent entity; and from this perception is deduced the impossibility of really talking about a poem or of really relating it to other things while it still preserves its identity as poem. There are other errors, less important perhaps. We may mistake a special variety for the general; this is illustrated by the tendency to forget or to ignore the fact that the almost impersonal and quite general product of popular song or of Dryden may be quite as poetic as the special and intense products of Donne or Catullus. Or there is the tendency of the poet to confuse his private, immediate experience with that of all other poets or with the poem itself.

I wish now to offer a definition of lyric poetry that will be in some accord with the rules and principles of definition; that is, which will state in their proper order the elements which taken together may be said to constitute a poem, but which apart may be predicated of other subjects as well. I shall give brief definitions of the terms used, but I shall not, since space forbids, attempt to deduce the consequences which follow from the definition. Nor do I pretend that the definition is exhaustive or perfect; as Aristotle said, a definition is the hardest thing to frame, the easiest to destroy.

Let a lyric poem be defined, then, as the imitation of a complex idea involving either in whole or in part some human action or attitude through the imagination, by means of metaphor, ambiguity, and word, the whole possessing unity of tone.

Before I define my other terms, a word must be said on the necessity for the metaphor or the ambiguity. Because we aim at one whole perceived at once, the ambiguity or the metaphor becomes necessary to the poem. If the elements are perceived as independent the one of the other or as in succession, we shall get nothing or merely several things which apart from their juxtaposition have no connection. It is because the metaphor brings together and unites diversities, or enables the properties of one thing to be ascribed to another, or because the word has overtones or is equivocal or both, and all realized in one subject, that the poem is enabled to realize immediately what would otherwise be impossible.

Our terms may now be defined. Imitation may be defined as the presence of some aspect of a thing in a setting other than that given or natural, or also as the realization of a function through a means other than that given and natural. From this it is clear that imitation does not necessarily signify pictorial representation. It is because we must either create out of nothing, which is impossible, or recombine in some way elements previously given in nature, that art, which is the production of something by man, involves imitation. I have said complex idea because a poem is not static but requires some development; and again, because of a simple concept, such as humanity, there is no assertion, and so no possibility of attitude and the like. In sum, by complex idea is meant the proposition or a series of propositions. The proposition is defined as that through which truth or falsity is expressed. Imagination may be said to be that which mediates between thought and sense (and in this place it is sense informed by thought which is intended); or it might be defined as sense informed by meaning, but sense abstracted from the immediate existent. And because sense and imagination involve some reference to individuals, however qualified, and because our individuals are either human or are referred to us who are human, poetry does in some way involve emotion. For where we have a particular, there we have the possibility of motion, and where there is the possi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bility of motion, there we may have either pleasure or pain; or we may have the attitudes of wanting or not wanting the particular, or we may wish its destruction or seek its preservation. The nature of emotion implies all of these. As to the metaphor, and the ambiguity, there is no need for definition here; except that the ambiguity is itself a form of metaphor. Tone may be defined as the effect of the attitude toward the subject idea present in the whole poem. Or it may be defined as the attitude toward the treatment of the idea. Is this love a grave thing, is it of importance; if either, is it to be treated lightly or intensely, or boorishly or with elegance? It is because of the tone, and because the poem is expressed through words, which are sounds, that rhythm and meter and the rest become important. Where we have sounds and the succession of sounds, there we may have the high and the low, the long and the short. It is by the various combinations of these that the tone may be deepened, suggested, reinforced, and the like.

The essence of a thing is never present, but only suggested in the imitation of that thing, and from this fact it is clear that of itself no poem is either true or false. This I suggest as one consequent of the definition; for the present I leave it to the reader to discover others.

LINCOLN REIS

The Story of a Jingo

Hitler Over Europe. By Ernst Henri. Simon and Schuster. $1.90.

THIS extraordinary book reaches the American public a month too late. The author's theses and prognoses which might have seemed incredible and slightly fantastic before, are so astoundingly confirmed by the events of June 30 that his book becomes almost an anti-climax in the wake of actual happenings. Who is the ruler, who the profiteer of the Third Reich? The question has been answered a hundred times before, by writers of lesser stature. But without the powerful impact of words and the breadth of vision of this delineator. The men who pull the strings in new Germany, says Henri, are the heavy industrialists, the great financiers, the Junker class. At their dictation Hitler removed the pseudo-socialist register from the program of the "National Revolution." Capitalism commanded its retainer to put an end to interference with profits; Hitler obeyed; the revolution is over.

And what of the socialization of key industries? asked the disappointed proletariat of the swastika movement. Experiments are dangerous, answered Hitler, the "revolutionist" of yesterday, because they eliminate the creative element, the power of personality from the industrial process. What of the expropriation of the great land holders? clamored the dismayed peasants. Efficient production demands, replied Hitler, that the great estates remain intact. Artisans, tradesmen, workers, each demanded the fulfilment of that part of the National Socialist program which was to solve their particular problem: the destruction of the department store, the abolition of interest servitude, and the nationalization of banks. Hitler swept them aside. "Our program is epochal, not immediate. Our system will exist for a thousand years. We are working for the millennium. Have patience! Wait!" But the people were starving and the S. A. was tired of promises. They grew impatient. Hitler answered with a bath of blood. Germany's questions are answered. There is peace in the Reich once more.

Thus the events of Hitler's first year present themselves to the chorus of his critics. Ernst Henri's analysis of the Hitler enigma is simpler, but much more exciting. The all-powerful Fritz Thyssen, personifying the heavy industries, is the villain of this thrilling romance. It is Thyssen, says Hitler, who took Hitler in hand with a strong and aim-conscious brain constructed the policies, the effects of which our generation has had to witness. It was he who brought Germany's industrialists to the man who was to become chancellor, and offered him greatness as the reward for unconditional submission. Hitler vaingloriously accepts and writes the closing chapters of the story of a capitalist nepotism which uses the coffers of the state to the greater power and glory of the family Thyssen.

"Hitler Over Europe" presents the picture of the last three years in cinematic tempo. How Thyssen destroys all competition, how every element in the nation's business, the Liberals, the Catholics, the Jewish financiers, the devout Protestants, and the free-thinking modernists become pawns in his ruthless grasp, moving forward and backward in blind and often unconscious obedience to the will of this all-powerful titan, is perhaps the most exciting part of this impassioned book. With an unfailing instinct for the melodramatic the writer pictures the author of Germany's misfortune as a monster who lies patiently in wait as the victims plunge headlong into his deadly traps. With deftness which leaves one slightly bewildered he brings the recent occurrences in the Reich to a sudden denouement, reduces the thousand conflicting elements in the German scene to one irreducible absolute—and calls that absolute Thyssen. Anti-Semitism and racial politics in this presentation become the weapon of a master-mind against the Jewish competitor at home and the British, Japanese, and French abroad. Religion, Nazi-culture, and the fight against bolshevism are all mere dramatic appurtenances to enhance the stature of the Thyssen lineage.

This story of the German master-mind becomes slightly fantastic, to be sure, in those chapters in which it outlines Alfred Rosenberg's scheme for world domination. In the skilful hands of the author this Baltic-German becomes the creator of a vast empire stretching from the Arctic Ocean on the north to the Balkans in the south, embracing the Russian Ukraine and the Scandinavian nations, Alsace Lorraine and the Netherlands. To offset the too palpable romanticism of Dr. Rosenberg's plans for the creation of a Nordic Central-European Nazi Empire Henri outlines another—Thyssen's—plan for continental control and supplements them both with the story of Rosenberg's secret International in Wilhelmstrasse 70a in Berlin, the building of the Foreign Office of the National Socialist Party, where this Machiavellian politician receives his secret reports from every corner of the globe and determines the policies of Germany's foreign office. Here are received the reports of the Brown International which works for Hitler and through him for Thyssen for a world dominated by Nordic Europe. That all this is impossible without war the author proves with incontestable logic. But he goes farther. He investigates the possibilities of success for Germany's army and concludes that it all depends on Goering's ability to create an overpowering air-armada.

Since that night when I read Remarque's much more sensitively emotional story of the World War in a single sitting, I have come across no book which so takes possession of the reader. No novel could be more thrilling than this journalistic description of our times. I read it months ago in the British edition and was struck with its sweeping power. I have just read it again and, with a clearer realization, perhaps, of its undeniable shortcomings as an unbiased evaluation of the German drama, was impressed once more with the remarkable ability of its creator. For the moment it stills the skepticism of an old hand in the revolutionary movement like myself though one cannot wholly escape the feeling that there are parts which are, in the last analysis, exceptionally able Communist propaganda against a not too realistic background of imagination and prediction.

LUDWIG LORE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Utopia

America's Capacity to Produce. By Edwin G. Nourse and Associates. The Brookings Institution. $3.50.

THIS daring adventure of economists into the world of realities is so novel, almost sensational, that praises of courage may overbalance the suspicion of dilettantism. For a moment Mr. Nourse and his associates have abandoned the familiar haunts of economists and have left "money and prices out of the picture," thus stepping out upon the firm ground of the "technical process of production and the division and use of the product *merely* in physical terms."

This word "merely" is charming in its naive contempt for physical reality. These *mere* actual facts of our food, clothing, shelter, transportation, and so forth frequently "admit no answer" that is familiar and acceptable to economists and so they trim the subject to fit their own preconceptions and formulas. That a machine can produce three times as much goods when used say 120 hours a week than when it is used only 40 hours, is a "mere" physical fact, and so they considered only the "conventional" single shift operation and output. That seasonal work and protracted idleness in some industries can be eliminated (See "Waste in Industry") and the productive capacity greatly increased seems not to matter, and the authors "accept the seasonal aspect of other industries as fact" (page 326). Similarly the "load factor" of electric public utilities is accepted "as fact" notwithstanding the Canadian and Russian evidence to the contrary. Furthermore, in determining the capacity they considered only the "active" plants of 1929 disregarding to a large extent the productive capacity of idle plants.

Likewise, in considering the "technical process of production" and its effect on labor requirements, the authors left out of their count the increased productivity per miner (page 151) and the increased idleness in sporadically operated and mismanaged mines. "We can not, however, regard these partially employed men as available personnel with which to man continuously idle machines and working places . . . without compelling a shut-down of the machines or plants to which they had originally been attached" (pages 155 and 156) is a typical argument. It is well known that the excessive number of competitive mines might be shut down to advantage, hence the wishful conclusion that: "Taking the mining industry as a whole, we may set down the additional workers who would have had to be recruited in 1929" in order to operate at full capacity "at not over 70,000 men." The fact that mines have excessive capacity so that not only a double shift but even one shift partly working would mine more than can be absorbed by the country's manufacturing facilities, did not even come under discussion!

By such methods the conclusion has been reached that 1,005,000 laborers could be released from agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, construction, trade, and service and 1,020,000 added to mining and manufacturing industries (page 414). But "had the plant capacity of manufacturing been fully utilized in 1929, all of this surplus labor and also a large additional supply would have been called for" (page 517), in which case some 1,229,000 additional workers would have been needed. Indeed, compared with the estimated number of unemployed, both at present and during 1927-1929 this computation holds no promise to provide employment to those willing to work and needing it.

The conclusion was reached that "our productive system as a whole was operating at about 80 per cent of capacity in 1929" and if utilized fully "it would have added goods and services to an amount one-fourth as great as the total which we are already getting" (page 416); but, revising limiting factors of uneven development in different industries, etc., and "reducing our expectation of full capacity . . . to a more reasonable 95 per cent," the attainable output "would mean an increase amounting to 19 per cent above what we produced in the late twenties" (page 421).

And the lesson drawn is: "Equipment was being maintained at a rate entirely suitable to the indefinite continuance of operation at the 1929 rate of activity. Labor in general was not being so driven as to impair either health or morale" (page 425).

Thus having found out that everything is for the best in the best of worlds, the main thesis was considered as proved and the easy formula for securing the 19 per cent utopia was found: all we need to do is to "reject all such revolutionary suggestions and seek economic regeneration under an economic organization not basically different from that to which we have been accustomed."

"The mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse."

WALTER N. POLAKOV

Preachers and War

Preachers Present Arms. By Ray H. Abrams. Round Table Press. $2.50.

DR. ABRAMS has made an interesting and valuable study of the conduct of the preachers of America in the days leading up to the war and during the struggle. It is a record of which all churchmen ought to be thoroughly ashamed, for it reveals the complete moral bankruptcy of the Christian church, its utter treason to the Prince of Peace, and its intellectual stupidity as well. A mere handful —only seventy—of the ministers were true to their faith, and as the years go by, future generations will be more and more amazed that such things as Dr. Abrams records could have come to pass. But they will surely find in the recreancy of the ministry in the stress of war one of the potent reasons why attendance at the churches has steadily decreased and why it is influencing less and less the moral tone of our American life, and indeed the whole development of our national policies.

It would be hardly fair to cite Newell Dwight Hillis as a typical bloodthirsty servant of Christ, but there are gems from his lips in this book which well deserve perpetual preservation. Here is one of them:

> We know that Tacitus said nearly two thousand years ago that "the German treats women with cruelty, tortures his enemies, and associates kindness with weakness." But nineteen hundred years of education have not changed the German one whit. . . . In utter despair, therefore, statesmen, generals, diplomats, editors are now talking about the duty of simply exterminating the German people. There will shortly be held a meeting of surgeons in this country. . . . These surgeons are now preparing to advocate the calling of a world conference to consider the sterilization of ten million German soldiers and the segregation of the women, that when this generation of Germans goes, civilized cities, states, and races may be rid of this awful cancer.

Then there was the Very Reverend Lyman Abbott, pal of Theodore Roosevelt: "I do not hate the Predatory Potsdam Gang because it is my enemy. . . . I hate it because it is a robber, a murderer, a destroyer of homes, a pillager of churches, a violator of women. I do well to hate it."

And there was also the Reverend George A. Griffith of the Episcopal Church, who declared: "I should do my best to have put to death any Boche in America, or any so-called American who would apologize in any way for what the Boche has done." And of course the Reverend Charles A. Eaton must not be forgotten. He counseled submarine workers thus: "When he [the spy] comes sneaking around with a bomb, don't say 'let us pray,' but take him out there in the marsh and tie him down and place the bomb on his chest. Light it and stand off and watch him blow to his Kaiser—to hell. Be regular he-men."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He was then pastor of the Madison Avenue Baptist Church.

There are many other valuable studies in Dr. Abrams's book, though it does not strike me that he has wholly covered the field despite evidence of great labor. Very useful are his quotations of clergymen who, like the turncoat, Rabbi Wise, now say that they will never again yield to war propaganda and hatred. Altogether 10,427 clergymen have stated in reply to a questionnaire from the *World Tomorrow* that it is their "present purpose not to sanction any future war, or participate as an armed combatant." If we could believe that the 70 have grown to the 10,427 we might feel profoundly encouraged. On the other hand, Dr. Abrams quotes various clergymen who still believe that Christ's appearance on earth was merely to teach people to kill one another, and I notice that the War Department is not having the slightest trouble at all in getting all the active and reserve chaplains it desires. They doubtless are one with the Reverend T. Andrew Caraker, of the Universalist Church of Our Father in Baltimore, who says that Jesus "would have been the first to wear a gas mask, shoulder a rifle, and enter the trenches." It is to be hoped that the War Department rewarded him with a colonel's uniform for that utterance.

All in all, this book belongs on the shelf of indispensable volumes for the use of future historians who wish to paint an unbiased picture of what Christian America looked like when it was teaching the Hun the Christian virtues and making the world safe for democracy.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Japan Over Asia

Empire in the East. Edited by Joseph Barnes. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.25.

PERHAPS no other single volume dealing with the problems of the Far East contains so much meaty information, sound reasoning, and lucid writing as does this work. It is not that the ten authors have tried to tell everything. They leave a number of basic questions unanswered and have stripped to the bone their discussion of several fundamental aspects of the problems they examine. But this enhances rather than detracts from the larger value of the book. To have attempted to go into every possible question would have defeated the purpose of the editor and authors, which obviously was to inform the average reader briefly, yet clearly and intelligently, what has been happening in the Far East, why it has been happening, and what is likely to follow. To accomplish this required the most skilful editing. Mr. Barnes has done a good job.

Owen Lattimore, the explorer, starts off with a discussion of Chinese history, which he shows has been an unceasing struggle between the Chinese and the various "barbarian" hordes who swept in for many centuries from the north and the west and in more recent years have come from across the sea. The Chinese knew how to deal with the Asiatic "barbarians"; they played one group off against another, "using barbarians to control the barbarians," and so remained fairly secure in their own culture and civilization. But this method has not worked with the new "barbarians" from Japan, Europe, and America, and in consequence China as a civilization and as a nation is threatened with destruction.

John E. Orchard, of Columbia University, a student of industrial problems in the Orient, examines the "Japanese dilemma," which consists mainly in the pressure of a rapidly growing population upon Japan's meager natural resources, a pressure that may cause an explosion at home if not relieved by a successful imperialistic program abroad, that is, on the Asiatic mainland. Mr. Barnes, who has lately become the secretary of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, reviews the position Soviet Siberia has taken in relation to the general Far Eastern problem. Grover Clark, formerly editor of the Peking *Leader,* takes up the question of markets for Western goods in China and Japan, reveals that these markets have not proved as broad or profitable as the political quarrels over them might suggest, and reports that the Eastern peoples are now determined to keep their markets as well as their territories for themselves. Frederick V. Field, who has written on the Chinese consortiums, looks at the problem from the standpoint of the bankers, coming to the conclusion that so long as "the creation of surpluses is directly geared to private profit in the industrial nations," the Chinese must either copy the belt-tightening methods of the Soviet Union in accumulating capital for themselves, or else "borrow in the money markets of the world" and so "run the dangers of modern empire."

H. Foster Bain, formerly director of the United States Bureau of Mines, reports that the mineral wealth of the Asiatic countries is not nearly so extensive as was once believed and that therefore they are not likely to develop industrially as have the Western countries. Carl L. Alsberg, formerly chief of the United States Bureau of Chemistry, discusses the "struggle for food," pointing out that either population must be controlled or new farming methods introduced, and that in any case the exploitation of Eastern farm lands and peasants by Western Powers is a likely source of conflict. Pearl S. Buck, missionary and author, reviews the work of the missionary movement and shows that while this movement has been productive of some good, the missionaries, though perhaps not consciously, have been as active as statesmen and others in promoting imperialist interests in the Far East. Tyler Dennett, formerly historical adviser to the State Department, reexamines the principle of the Open Door and finds that while in theory this principle "fits into the pattern of internationalism," in practice, because of the "nationalism, which the world and especially the American people have adopted, the Open Door principle is likely to turn out to be little more than the old imperialism with a new name."

Since all of these authors point unmistakably to the probability of armed international conflict in the Far East, it is appropriate that the concluding essay, the work of Nathaniel Peffer, author and newspaper correspondent, should take up the question of Peace or War. He feels that we of the Western world must, among other things, "so reshape our social system that we shall not be compelled to take advantage of the disparity [between East and West] by political aggressions for economic aggrandizement. Thus, and thus alone, can the Far East be eliminated as a theater of war."

One hesitates to find fault with this excellent study. Yet it must be stated that nowhere in the work is the problem of Japan's national defense discussed. This is altogether as important in any study of imperialism or peace prospects in the Far East as the struggle for food, the Open Door, or Western aggrandizement. For Japan it is almost exclusively a military problem and, except in a remote sense, has no economic basis. To survive as a nation Japan, an insular power with no natural defenses, must follow the English pattern and either establish bridgeheads on the Asiatic mainland, as it has already done in Korea and Manchuria and tried to do at Shanghai, or else so shape its policy as to keep the mainland divided against itself. It is true that China is now and long has been too weak to offer a real threat to Japanese security, but there is an implied threat in Chinese nationalism and a much more positive one in the growing strength of the Soviet Union in Siberia. This is a problem any Japanese government, whether ultra-militaristic or composed of internationally-minded liberals, would have to face. It is as likely to result in war as any of the other factors discussed by the authors of this book.

MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Medicine Looks at Homosexuality

What is the opinion of medicine on homosexuality? Is it curable? Is it acquired or congenital? What are the distinguishing marks of the true homosexual? What are the latest scientific findings on the subject? You can learn in the current issue of

Scientific Progress

Edited by Dagobert D. Runes, Ph.D.

Scientific Progress reports the latest events in all fields of science, accurately and readably. Among other articles: Your Eyes Reveal When You Will Die; Invisible Eyeglasses; Dead Dog Made Alive; Why People Die at Middle Age; Drug "Burns Off" Fat. $1 brings you a five-month trial subscription. Address Scientific Progress, 310 Riverside Drive, New York.

RESORTS

CAMP MILFORD
KENT · CONN.
"MICKEY" MICHAELS DIR.

A Modern Adult Camp in the heart of the Connecticut Hills; on beautiful lake. Every outdoor activity. Splendid entertainment. Congenial fellow guests. Delicious meals.

Weekly Rates—July & August

$27.50 PER WEEK

Special Railroad Rates N.Y., N. H. & H.
Write for Illustrated Booklet.
and Rates Today

1440 BROADWAY, N.Y.C.
PENNSYLVANIA 6-7842

WHAT'S NEW AT
UNITY HOUSE
FOREST PARK, PENNSYLVANIA
J. HALPERN, *Manager* M. S. NOVIK, *Associate Manager*
N. Y. Office: 3 West 16th Street

A Vacation Message to THE NATION Readers—

UNITY HOUSE offers superb facilities for play and relaxation, and the gala programs featuring many famous artists have become increasingly popular. Many new facilities this year for sport and play. $25.50 per week—July and August. Reduction to Union members. Owned by I.L.G.W.U. on non-profit basis.

Always the Finest of Entertainment

Starring such famous artists as TOSCHA SEIDEL, ALLA NAZIMOVA, MOLLY PICON, SIGMUND SPAETH, ISA KREMER, and the HALL JOHNSON CHOIR.
Weekend of July 21, Russian Opera Troupe.
Sound movies showing latest feature pictures.
Weekly dramatic presentation, Pengrove Players.

Forest and Stream Club
An Ideal Adult Camp
IN THE GREEN MOUNTAINS, WILMINGTON, VT.
Four and one-half hours from Grand Central
Sporty 9 hole golf course right on premises.
Complete social and athletic activities.
SEASON RATES $27.50 PER WEEK & UP
Twelve years of highly satisfactory service
55 W. 42nd STREET, N. Y. C. LAckawanna 4-9247

Southern Culture

Culture in the South. Edited by W. T. Couch. University of North Carolina Press. $4.

THIS large symposium contains a mass of valuable and well-integrated material concerning the contemporary South. Each of the thirty-one contributors has special qualifications for the task assigned him, and the result is something in which Mr. Couch, the editor, may well take pride. Virtually every significant phase of Southern culture is discussed. Industry, agriculture, education, folk songs, race relations, politics, literature, journalism, fine arts, handicrafts, religion, speech, humor, and other cognate topics come in for examination. A majority of the chapters are well written and all are authoritative.

Mr. Couch has not imposed any particular postulates upon his contributors, the consequence being that there is considerable diversity in the points of view represented. In fact, he has included writers whose approach is wholly at variance with his own. Among the latter are two of the Nashville agrarians, with whose fundamental theses Mr. Couch is in almost complete disagreement.

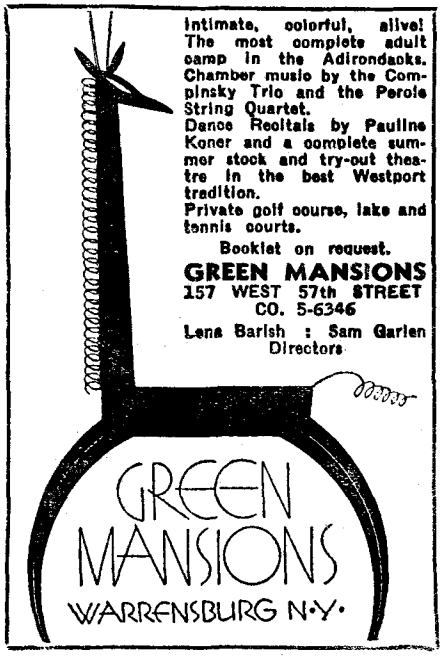
These agrarians are Donald Davidson, who contributes the chapter on Southern literature, and John D. Wade, who deals with Southern humor. Mr. Davidson has always been one of the most ardent of the neo-Confederates, and he offers up his orisons at the shrine of John C. Calhoun with all the fervor of John Crowe Ransom himself. Mr. Ransom is the Great White Father of the group and certainly the other members cannot be charged with underestimating his importance in the world of letters. For example, in the chapter by Mr. Davidson in the volume under review, Mr. Ransom is mentioned in a laudatory manner six separate times, and his "Poems About God" is cited along with Mr. Cabell's "Jurgen" in such a way as to leave the impression on the mind of the reader that Mr. Davidson regards the two works as of approximately equal literary significance.

But if one is forced to disagree with much that Mr. Davidson and his compatriots have to say, one must admire their forthrightness. They are quite frank in proclaiming that Northerners are damyankees who ought to stay in the North; that Negroes can best be handled below the Potomac without "outside interference"—the "interference" with the grossly unfair trials of the Scottsboro defendants having been particularly obnoxious to them; and that such a grotesque manifestation as the Dayton, Tennessee, monkey trial was a wholly misunderstood and misrepresented phenomenon of Southern culture. It is unfortunate that the neo-Confederates, with their indubitable talents, should waste their time and their energies in so quixotic a quest as that upon which they have embarked, but they seem determined to save Dixie from the Northern ogres at all costs, and there is nothing anybody can do about it.

It is true that their crusade is not entirely without merit. They are right, for one thing, in contending that the educational system which has been built up in this country has serious defects, since it presupposes that every boy or girl who is not definitely subnormal is capable of absorbing a high-school and college education. Professor H. Clarence Nixon, who writes on colleges and universities in Culture in the South, is fortunately aware of the fallacies inherent in this thesis, and in a discriminating chapter he calls for a greater degree of selectivity in the educational process. In another chapter Professor Edgar W. Knight examines the present state of the public schools with unexceptionable scholarship, but he gives us small ground for believing that he recognizes the need for a complete overhauling of the entire structure.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS RESORTS RESORTS



Intimate, colorful, alive! The most complete adult camp in the Adirondacks. Chamber music by the Compinsky Trio and the Perole String Quartet. Dance Recitals by Pauline Koner and a complete summer stock and try-out theatre in the best Westport tradition. Private golf course, lake and tennis courts.

Booklet on request.

GREEN MANSIONS
157 WEST 57th STREET
CO. 5-6346
Lena Barish : Sam Garlen
Directors

GREEN MANSIONS
WARRENSBURG N.Y.

St. Regis HOTEL FLEISCHMANNS N.Y.
"Catskill Mts.' Greatest Hotel Value"

- ANNOUNCES Special Rates for July & August $22.50 UP
- Fleischmann's Finest and Largest Hotel
- Large Professional Social and Athletic Staff.
- Every Recreational Feature.
- Dietary Laws.

N. Y. C. Phone Kilpatrick 5-10309

"ON BEAUTIFUL LAKE SWITZERLAND"

MOON HILL ON SCHROON LAKE ADIRONDACKS

For A Perfect Adirondack Vacation
HOTEL COMFORTS
Country Club Atmosphere
Golf, Tennis, Riding, Swimming, Etc. Complete Social Staff. Famous Cuisine. (Dietary laws.) Families accommodated.
Write for Booklet "N."
Sarah Solomon, Man. Dir.
Pottersville, Warren Co., N. Y.
N. Y.: 11 W. 42. PEnn. 6-1720

NAPANOCH COUNTRY CLUB
NAPANOCH, N.Y.
Every Outdoor and Social Activity. Write for Booklet.
Thrilling Entertainment by C.B.S.
New York City Phone: MUrray Hill 4-3802

PINE HILL FARM HOUSE
Pleasant Valley, N. Y. Dutchess Co.
An ideal place for rest. Beautiful surroundings. Wholesome food. Modern conveniences. Tennis, bathing, fishing, rowing. Jewish. Rate $16 wkly.

TIMBERLAND
A Modern Camp for Adults
Booklet on Request
33 W. 42nd St.
PEnn. 6-7663

The Rare Charm Of An Intimate Congenial Group
July Rate $29.50
Superior Cuisine
Round Trip Fare $8.50 by De Luxe Packards

TIMBERLAND In The Adirondacks
Pottersville, N. Y., Warren County
Esther R. Kessler — Israel H. Kessler

UNCAS LODGE
UNCASVILLE, CONN.
8th SUCCESSFUL SEASON

"Send for Booklet"

A charming, unpretentious, modern adult camp and 165-acre old New England farm. An ideal retreat for lovers of rustic beauty.
- Private Twin Lakes.
- 3 Clay Tennis Courts.
- Saddle Horses and Golf nearby.
- Unexceiled Cuisine.
- Socials, Theatricals, Camaraderie.

JULY RATE $21 for 1 week
$40 for 2 weeks
Rate per day, $3.50
Management—DIANA AND ABE BERMAN
Camp Phone: Norwich 1858 Ring 5
New York Phone: NEvins 8-2384—Evenings
DELIGHTFULLY DIFFERENT

15th Season
WESTERN VIEW FARM
An Inn unique in its hospitality
On a mountain top only 2½ hours from New York. Rates: $8.00 a day by the day, $7.00 a day by the week; $6.00 a day by the month; $5.50 a day by the season.
Service a la mode Continentale
Address: EDWARD G. OHMER, New Milford, Conn.—Telephone, New Milford 440.
From all over the world comes this Farm's clientele

RED OAKS Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey
Golf, riding, tennis, all outdoor activities, 150 acre estate, private lake, beautiful country. Excellent food, spacious house, log fires. Just over the hour from New York by train or auto. Central Railroad of N. J. or Pennsylvania to Red Bank.
Management Mascha and Hyman Strunsky
Telephone Atlantic Highlands, 264

CAMP ANNISQUAM
ABRAM RESNICK
Director
Gloucester, Mass.

Charming UNPRETENTIOUS on picturesque bay at Gloucester—fine spirit, whole-hearted direction. All land and sea sports. *Send for booklet.*

ATLANTIC HOTEL BELMAR NEW JERSEY
"For An Ideal Vacation"
For many years the perfect hostelry serving people of culture and refinement. Excellent food plus every conceivable diversion. $25 in July. Ask for Booklet "W". N. Y. Tel. ORchard 4-2673.

VINEYARD LODGE, Ulster Park, N. Y.
Garden Spot of Ulster County
Modern hotel amidst beautiful 200 acre fruit and grape farm, solariums, saddle horses, tennis courts, social activities, refinement, congeniality, American Jewish cuisine. Rates reduced to $16 and $18. JOSEPH ROSENTHAL KINGSTON 3430

ECHO LAKE TAVERN
A Camp for Adults in the ADIRONDACKS
WARRENSBURG N.Y.

AN ADIRONDACK CAMP of the BETTER TYPE
Most modern facilities for comfort and sports.
ECHO LAKE TAVERN
Warrensburg, N. Y.
Booklet "N" on Request
City Address: 545 5th Ave. (Room 1109)
VAn. 3-9874

WUNNISHAUNTA
Camp for Young Men & Women
ON LAKE WINNEPESAUKEE
QUEEN WHITE MOUNTAIN LAKES
All Modern Camp Features
Sports . . . Dancing . . . Entertainment
Excellent Cuisine
New Low Rates: $22.50 - $25.00 - and $27.50
Write for Booklet
Mrs. Sadie Brickman, Hostess
WOLFEBORO, NEW HAMPSHIRE

BREEZEMONT
A resort of unusual charm set on a huge estate in the Westchester hills—private swimming lake—tennis—all sports. An ideal summer residence for people of good taste. One hour to your office.
Excellent cuisine. Breezemont is managed by Ray Davidson of the old "Russian Inn."
Armonk, N. Y. Armonk Village 555

ROBIN HOOD LODGE, Warrensburg in the Adirondacks. One minute from Echo Lake. Splendid bathing. Canoes and boats for guests. Tennis court. Cabins if desired. Guests met at Lake George. $18.00 and $20.00. R. J. Venton.

RESORT ADVERTISING RATES:—

One inch, narrow column	$6.16
Ten insertions	5.55 each
One inch, wide column	9.52
Ten insertions	8.57

CLASSIFIED advertisements can be taken up to 4 P.M. on Mondays, to appear in the issue on the stands Thursday—cost, 62 cents a line of 6 words.

Minimum, 3 lines.

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street New York
COrtlandt 7-3330

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In a delightful discussion of Southern religion, the Reverend Edwin McNeill Poteat, Jr., takes what might have been a dull topic and transforms it with his practiced style into one of the few chapters which are written with genuine verve. Commenting upon the strictness of sectarian lines in Dixie and the insistence of the numerous denominations upon the maintenance of separate congregations in the smallest communities, Dr. Poteat says: "The fact that there is economic waste and weariness in such a system is perfectly plain. But this is perhaps regarded as an unexplained chastening of the Lord or a challenge to something or other." Dr. Poteat avers that the Episcopalians of the region "are relatively few, as is becoming to aristocracy, and they enjoy their exclusiveness to the point of advertising it in their collars."

Clarence E. Cason also writes with an easy freshness in his chapter, Middle Class and Bourbon. The vein of persiflage which runs through his discussion of class distinctions is one of the high lights of the volume.

Various other chapters merit special mention, but there is insufficient space to refer to any except that on the Negro by W. T. Couch. Mr. Couch presents a quantity of significant material and draws from it the sound conclusion that both abstract justice and the selfish interests of the whites demand more adequate opportunities and fairer treatment for the weaker race.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY

Shorter Notices

The Woman She Was. By Lance Sieveking. William Morrow and Company. $2.50.

"The Woman She Was" is a stunt novel, detailing the life of Dame Charlotte Castleton, Royal Academician, suffragette, V. A. D., wife and mother. Dame Charlotte was a woman of character and charm, "the finest type of Englishwoman." A first-class painter herself, she was a friend of the great, specifically of Rossetti, Swinburne, Wilde, and Renoir. Her life reflected the times. It was varied and occasionally tragic. Mr. Sieveking's account of her is chiefly remarkable for the fact that it tells her story backwards, beginning with her death at the age of seventy-eight, and working back to her birth. This is a method which might be interesting in the hands of a more subtle psychologist, but as it is used here it simply reduces a fairly lively tale to a series of anti-climaxes. Mr. Sieveking's novel also gives the impression that he has sat through a great many movies. He uses the fade-out and the flash-back extensively, and he appears to have borrowed certain little associational tricks from René Clair. All these devices give the book a superficial novelty, but it is a novelty that savors strongly of Woolworth's. All Mr. Sieveking's most frantic efforts could not turn a dull book into an original one. His apprehension of character is weak, his humor raucously juvenile. The best thing he has given us here is a strange portrait of Rossetti, and, in that case, Nature was kind enough to furnish Mr. Sieveking some excellent raw material.

A Cool Million: or the Dismantling of Lemuel Pitkin. By Nathanael West. Covici-Friede. $2.

There is a story that a Communist, walking in Central Park early one morning last winter, met a young man who had spent the rainy night sleeping on one of the rocks there. When asked what he thought of having to sleep out all night, while so many apartments within view on Fifth Avenue were empty, the vagrant answered: "I guess the landlords are having a hard time too." Lemuel Pitkin, hero of the present satire, is in a way such a man: content to follow the dictates of his heart and of outworn shibboleths rather than of reason. Lem (a rustic Candide) left Vermont to seek his fortune after he had been assured by "Shagpoke" Whipple, shyster banker in the town where he lived and ex-President of the United States, that America was the land of opportunity and that industry and fair play would be justly rewarded. His trials, such as twice being railroaded into jail, imprisoned in a brothel, persecuted, and exploited, were excessive; his rewards consisted in losing first his teeth, then an eye, afterwards a leg, a thumb, his scalp, and finally his life when he was killed by an agent of the Third International. Nevertheless, he became the martyr-hero of Shagpoke's Fascist party, the Leather Shirts of America, and like the less naive Horst Wessel, his name came to be sung throughout a nation, his birthday being celebrated by battalions of young men marching up Fifth Avenue in coonskin hats, leather shirts, and with squirrel guns in their hands, singing the Lemuel Pitkin song. Probably, since we have no Voltaire and would be unlikely to appreciate one, present day satire can only be written in a wisecracking style. Mr. West is heavy-handed but his book is stimulating and at times bitterly hilarious.

Years Are So Long. By Josephine Lawrence. Frederick A. Stokes Company. $2.50.

The irritation that one feels with this book has nothing to do with the controversial matter—the problem as to whether children should be obliged to support their indigent parents. What the reader objects to is that the thesis tends to strangle the characters. And this is too bad, because the author could have made these people convincing if she had kept her eye more on them and been less obsessed with her thesis. There are two chapters that somewhat redeem the novel—the one in which the father and mother meet and have the day together, each trying to bear up for the other's sake; and the final chapter, in which the son George finds his mother at the grave of her husband and breaks to her the unhappy news that her children are putting her in a home. In this last chapter is insight and subtlety, and for the time one forgets the thesis, probably because the author herself forgot it and for once let her people behave like human beings. It is just this glimpse of a talent in the creation of character not completely respected that provides the irritation. But not even these two chapters redeem the novel's lack of distinction in writing.

Contributors to This Issue

STUART CHASE's latest book is "The Economy of Abundance."

MILDRED ADAMS is a frequent contributor to the New York *Times* Sunday magazine.

HAROLD J. LASKI, professor of political science at London University, has recently delivered a series of lectures on problems of representative government at the Institute of Politics at Leningrad.

LINCOLN REIS, a graduate student in philosophy at Columbia University, is engaged in research in medieval logic.

LUDWIG LORE, formerly editor of the New York *Volkszeitung,* now conducts a daily column, "Behind the Cables," in the New York *Post.*

WALTER N. POLAKOV, author of "The Power Age," is the technical supervisor of research into energy sources of the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity.

MAURITZ A. HALLGREN, formerly an associate editor of *The Nation,* is now on the staff of the Baltimore *Sun.*

VIRGINIUS DABNEY is on the staff of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED